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Labor Age

The National Monthly

FIRE WITH FIRE

1. Pacific's Policy
2. A Strike That Failed
3. On the Unfair List--and Off

Them Foreign Relations

Reuben Williams and His Brothers

Lillian and Sex Appeal

Real Silk Spirit — William Fincke

Bill Smith In Boston

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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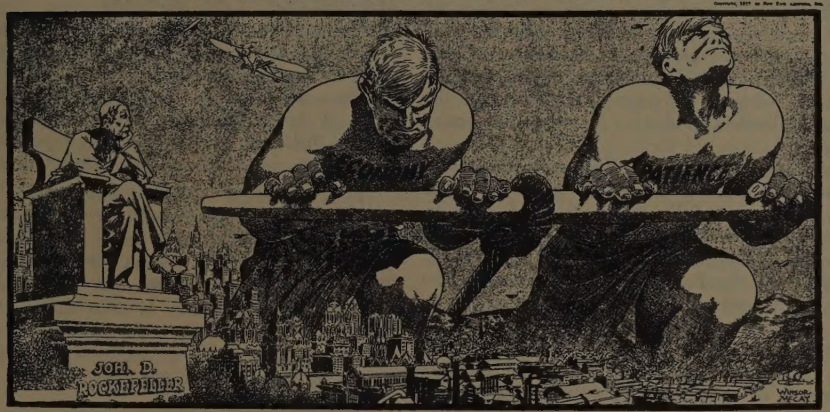
Labor Age
The National Monthly

Fire vs. Fire

Lessons the Employers Can Teach

ROCKEFELLER'S TWIN GIANTS



DR. WILLIAN RANDOLPH HEARST is responsible for the above cartoon. His papers have spread it far and wide over the country. There is supposed to be a lesson in it. To the workers it says: Be patient. Be economical.. And you will become like unto Rockefeller. The Hearstian lession is—Bunk.

Rockefeller rose not through patience and economy. He rose through crime. Read the history of the Standard Oil Co. and learn the why and wherefor of it. We workers have not enough of the criminal in us to become other Rockefellers. Mathematically, we could not all rise to his place. The idea that we can all achieve the heights of power through individual effort is the Great American Myth. Collective action and discontent—not patience and economy—are our roads to security and industrial control.

One thing we can learn from the Rockefellers and other great employers. It must be learnt quickly and well. It has nothing to do with "Rockefeller's Twin Giants". It has much to do with something else—the ability of the great capitalists and employers in general to adapt their weapons against us to the changing conditions of the times.

Many men fail to grasp new situations, and perish. A man who had escaped the Titanic disaster drowned in the pool of a fountain. Gilliat, Victor Hugo's hero in TOILERS OF THE SEA, could battle the waves and men and devil fish. But he succumbed to a woman's repulse.

In many sections, the Labor Movement is doing somewhat similar things. Labor men can still strike. They can still rig up an attempted boycott. But they are not, in many instances, battling the employers' new weapons with new battering-rams of their own.

It is well to know this—in order to shed the old and take on the new. The picture at the Pacific Mills is prevalent in many industries. It raises the question: How shall we meet this new development? We shall not answer that now. Subsequent issues will attempt that. But we choose the accounts of the Swift strike in Portland to indicate how it shall not be done.

We believe that it will repay any and every sincere labor official to read these articles by Mr. Director and Miss Eastham. The strike was undoubtedly defeated. The bosses' union was undoubtedly triumphant. Does that discourage us? It should not. Rather should it spur us on to give an answer to the question coming out of it: How might this strike have been won? How might other upheavals of that character have been successfully conducted? Our readers may give the answer. We intend to do so, by citing concrete cases of successful undertakings. They should encourage us, when given, to make our labor tactics as scientific and well-prepared as those of the other side. Fire must be fought with fire.

Pacific's Policy

Concerning the Busy Mr. Francke

By ROBERT W. DUNN

(Here we have a brief extract from Mr. Dunn's book on "Company Unions"—off the press this month. The story of the Pacific Mills is well worth pondering over. We present it with that in view. Mr. Dunn's book will be sent without cost to every one of our new subscribers at the full yearly rate. Our readers may not agree with all of its conclusions, but they will agree that it is a mine of information on company unions. It shows the devious way in which they have been created—from the use of labor spies, up and down!)

"WE have learned how to rid ourselves of labor troubles and labor unions," remarked an important executive of the Pacific Mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts, to a friend of the writer. "We give them some of the things they want. There's no danger of radicalism under such a system."

He was describing the Plan of Employee Representation introduced at these great textile mills in 1923. The adoption of the plan followed a series of visits to other company union plants by a selected committee of Pacific employees. They returned with suggestions for a company union at the Pacific. The purpose of the plan, as stated in its printed rules and regulations, is to provide "the employees with a means of expressing to the management their opinion on all matters concerning their working conditions," and to provide "the management with a means of consulting with the employees on matters of mutual concern."

The plan is of the distinctly advisory type. As an official of the mills puts it, "it gives no legislative functions to the employees." This official is franker than are most plant officials, when, after examining other company unions, he says, "We found that in most cases this function (the legislative) is so safeguarded that all the executive power actually remains with the management." The Pacific management admits this at the outset. Questioned as to what part the plan played in a recent wage cut, the service manager replied, "The employees were not given an opportunity to vote on the reduction as this would be contrary to the principles of our advisory plan."

When the plan was first introduced at the Pacific, some of the foremen were opposed to it. One of them echoed the sentiments of some old-fashioned labor leaders known to the writer, "employee representation . . . is the first step towards Bolshevism." But later, after this foreman had seen the plan in operation, he changed his opinion and became one of its keenest supporters.

$77 vs. $182

There appears to be no reason why a foreman should not favor this plan. For President McMahon of the United Textile Workers declares the results are much the same as at the Amoskeag Mills. He says, "for example, in one department at the Pacific, 140 looms in the room were formerly tended by seven weavers receiving an average of $26 each per week. Today, the same number of looms are minded by two weavers, in this instance receiving more, or about $36 per person. But the management gets the same amount of work done for $72 which formerly cost it $182."

Whether these results are to be attributed entirely to the company union, no one can say. But certainly a plan for getting the workers to see the "management's point of view" would be the first step toward introducing a speed-up, unemployment-producing program like the one described by Mr. McMahon.

Although the company does not pretend to give the workers any power over important matters, it permits them an endless amount of discussion in the shop councils over all sorts of trivial concerns connected with mill life. A few extracts from the "council notes" in the *Pacific Bulletin*, company service department organ, will indicate the range of subjects presented for deliberation:

(October, 1925) Cotton Department: "Mr. Francke, (the Service Manager) spoke of the condition of the cats in the mill, and felt that steps should be taken to feed them or else get rid of them.. This brought up the question of the number of rats and mice there were in the mill and Mr. Taylor was to refer the matter to the Overseers."

"Mr. Francke called attention to the classes being held at the Y. M. C. A. and Mr. Taylor spoke of the value of some of these classes."

Print Works: "Mr. Murphy asked the members of the Shop Council to give their opinion on the value of employee representation. A few members cited the opinions that had been expressed in their departments, which showed a certain amount of dissatisfaction, and Mr. Francke explained that that was very natural at a time of a wage reduction, but that after all, it was necessary to take the bitter with the sweet."

Management's representative is always on hand to inject such telling bits of philosophy.

Lower Mill: "This Health and Safety Committee recommended that garbage cans be equipped with covers, and Mr. Mailey reported that efforts were being made to obtain the proper kind of cover."

The BULLETIN for November, 1925, carries further items of equal importance:

Lower Mill: "Several members complained that the milk had been sour again, and Mr. Francke was asked to take the matter up with the Purchasing Department. He later reported that the Purchasing Department would buy from a different source if the milk was sour again."

Print Works: "Mr. Francke reported improved financial statements at the Cafeteria."

(September, 1926) Lower Mill: "Mr. Coulton called the attention of the Management to the case of a man in his

department who had been ordered to have his children's tonsils removed but who was unable to meet the expense."

As will be seen from these sample minutes there is no limit to the variety of questions discussed. Even cost of living, piece rates, and other more vital matters come in for occasional discussion, the management thus being able to "educate" the representatives and at the same time to feel them out as to what the workers will accept. The Service Manager, of course, attends all meetings. A proposition to have separate meetings of the employee representatives on the plant committee has been voted down.

"Service"

As we shall note in the case of many other company unions, the committees are given responsibility over all sorts of service activities. They nominate the directors for the Mutual Benefit Association; they organize whist parties, and card and checker tournaments. They run the bowling league, the annual banquet and the musical show. They also help in the adjustment of grievances, promote "mutual education" as the Service Manager calls it, and "prevent the spreading of false rumors."

Organized labor has very little chance in such a game. However, the venerable loomfixers union is not molested and its chief officer is, in fact, a member of the company union in order, he says, to see that "nothing is put over" on his men. Other unions are non-existent. Efforts by United Front Committees and more radical groups have been met with an efficient espionage offensive. During 1926, for example, the United Front Committee of Lawrence expelled two members who were declared to be company spies and also members of the company union. At the time, it was charged, on good evidence, that one of them was an operative for a well-known detective agency.

Whether or not outside espionage services are employed to eliminate "agitators", it is clear that the company union, with all its limitations and admitted helplessness to affect fundamental conditions, is more or less passively accepted by the mass of the workers. They may not participate as enthusiastically in elections as they did during the first few months of the plan, but they accept the incidental welfare services the plan seems to give them. Even some of the old-time craft unionists in Lawrence believe the company union, though regarded as a joke by many workers, may not be so bad for the rank and file. They say it has improved the health conditions in the mills and has given the previously unorganized worker at least a taste of organization.

But in spite of continued assertions by the company and its friends that the plan "has withstood tests in time of stress," meaning, of course, that wage cuts have been effected without revolt by the workers, there have been instances when the machinery showed signs of collapse. For example, in March, 1927, a group of workers in the dye shop struck against the introduction of a new card system, a speed-up variation. When the management introduced a new time clock for checking production, some of the workers threw the clock into the river. When a new one took its place, heavily guarded, the workers struck, demanding not only the abolition of the speed-up device, but also the abolition of the company union. They were finally coaxed back into the shop and certain accommodations were made by management. The company union remained.

A Strike That Failed

Battling Against the Speed-Up

By H. AARON DIRECTOR

IN many American cities the strength of trade unionism is to be found in the printing and building trades and among a miscellaneous group of workers like barbers, meatcutters, restaurant workers, and retail clerks. These have developed a certain method of doing business which may roughly be called label unionism. It is characterized by great dependence on the label, close contact with the employer, a local product or service, and a small unit of business organization. Hence unionism is sold not to the workers but to the employers. It may be characterized further as organization of jobs and not of men. Most often shops are organized not because the men working in them were convinced of the superior position of a union, but because the employers were promised a certain amount of trade in return for the union card.

These methods when applied to other industries, which produce goods on a national and not a local scale, where employers are strongly intrenched and far removed from the workers, often prove disastrous to the cause of unionism.

Swift and the Speed-Up

The Swift Packing Plant of Portland, Oregon, like the national organization of which it is a subsidiary, is committed to the Open Shop—in which union workers are not wanted. A small group of meatpackers working in small "independent" plants has stuck to the union for many years. These members were imbued with the philosophy and tactics described above as label unionism. They made some effort to carry on organization work among the Swift employees, but with meager results. However, what arguments failed to accomplish, brutal economic events succeeded in doing.

The local Swift plant, not content with its contribution to a large American fortune, introduced the Bedeaux speed-up system—kindly calling it a bonus system. Work was minutely subdivided. The men did not understand the basis of pay, calculated according to the number of "b's" performed every hour. The rate of the fast worker became the standard of pay. Any output larger than this standard was rewarded with a bonus—until a new stand-

ard was set based upon this new speed. Men were thus compelled to compete with time and with each other.

Some two weeks after this was introduced the men walked out and came to the union. Here was a good opportunity to take advantage of a new situation and add several hundred union members to the ranks of organized labor. Now from the beginning a defeatist atmosphere was prevalent in trade union circles. "Swift and Company cannot be beaten." It is of course doubtful, but if true, the defeat could have been a glorious one, and the occasion utilized to expose the methods and practices of big business, and to preach the advantages of organization to men who were ready to listen.

The "Fight"

What was done? The meat packers' local union went to the section of which it is a part and asked that Swift and Company be placed on the unfair list. It in turn made the same request of the Central Labor Council and both counted on the boycott to win the fight. They were responding with the same pattern reaction to a new situation and it did not work.

The union made no serious effort to picket the plant and thus prevent other workers from taking the places of the strikers. A half-hearted appeal for relief funds was made—because the men might just as well look for other jobs, while Swift and Company was brought to terms by the all-powerful weapon of the label.

The retail meatcutters could not see their way clear to refuse to handle Swift's products, because they would jeopardize their jobs and their union, and because they were informed of the recent and famous court decision in the stonecutters' case which makes such practice illegal. The rest of the trade union movement did what is expected of it on such occasions, and advised its members to boycott Swift's products.

The end was even more ludicrous than the process. Swift and Company proceeded to cut its prices and thus compel every small competitor to close shop. These went to the union and pleaded for the removal of the boycott. The original members of the union working in these small shops lost their jobs and added their voices to this plea. The executive board (probably because the strikers constituted a majority of the union) declared Swift fair again, and asked the Central Council to remove it from its unfair list.

Twenty-five members again attend union meetings and the high position of the label has been restored.

On and Off the Unfair List

Fighting Swift But Not Fighting

By KATHRYN EASTHAM

THAT the small business enterprise has become a tool of the American trust for the demoralization of organized labor was demonstrated in a recent strike at the Swift & Company packing plant, Portland, Oregon.

The trust has found that in time of stress, the hard pushed little competitor can be made to rally to the support of capital in the belief that a common interest is to be defended in destroying any militant action on the part of the worker for better working conditions. This collaboration of the employing interests broke the Swift strike and created still more favorable conditions for the exploitation of the workers.

The strike at Swift's Portland plant is typical for this review; but more than that, it places squarely before organized labor those conditions which must be expected in organizing the basic industries.

First, the fact that the trust, with large yearly dividends and a surplus, is ripe for more systematic exploitation of the worker. The Swift trust is paying twelve million dollars yearly, with a varying surplus of from one million to nineteen million dollars. Second, that the campaign to decrease cost and increase production at the workers' expense is to be expected at any time. Third, that the natural result of these conditions is voluntary protest and organization on the part of the workers thus affected.

Before the Strike

Before the strike, open shop conditions prevailed. The piece-work system averaged the worker from 40 to 50 cents per hour. Women doing the same kind of work made from 20 to 32 cents per hour. If employment had been steady, the average wage would have been about $25.00 a week. But many of the workers said that four or five hours a day was considered good. Thus the real wage was scarcely sufficient to exist on. Add to this sickness and a few holidays and you have the condition prevalent in one of the largest food monopolies in the United States. The only previous efforts at organization on the part of the union had been to secure the Swift management's signature to an agreement, which was ineffectual, since no attempt had been made to establish contact with the workers themselves. With the union safely in the background, the well-known speed-up Bedeaux system was installed.

This particular phase of the speed-up system is scientifically devised to procure maximum results from the worker at minimum wages. The set standard of speed, the stop-watch, the few cents bonus, which provide for increased rate of speed, tempt the worker long enough for him to give it a trial. After that, nothing can persuade him to submit longer to such open exploitation.

This was the case with the 300 people at Swift's plant, when they voluntarily suspended labor in protest against the system.

The Unions and the Strike

Here, then, is a basic industry in which the workers have never been organized in any real sense. Mercilessly exploited, they rebel. They know nothing of union tactics; they have never heard of relief funds or the picket line. With no previous preparation, they walk out one

morning all together. They next apply to the local of the Meat Packers' union for admittance and assistance.

Now, in view of the fact that a strike in local organized labor circles is a thing to be avoided, and that shops are mostly organized with the full consent of the employer, who sometimes thinks a union shop will bring him business, the Swift walkout was something of a blow. That the International Union will not furnish strike benefits for an unauthorized strike was likewise embarrassing. But the situation was unavoidable; and it is also very probable that the local officials did not realize the forces involved nor the importance of the strike. Their subsequent action indicates that they were not prepared for the successful prosecution of such a strike. They officially called it, however, and succeeded in getting the Central Labor Council to place Swift on the unfair list.

After the strike was fairly on, the first problem arose. The Meat Cutters' local, sister local of the Meat Packers, was cutting Swift meat. The Meat Packers realized that not much headway could be gained under these circumstances, and feeling assured of sympathetic action on the part of the Meat Cutters, requested them to refuse to cut Swift meat. It was on the assurance that organized labor would support them, that the Meat Packers' local decided to officially call the strike, and it was upon the active support of organized labor that the success of the strike depended.

Several weeks elapsed after the Meat Packers' request of the Meat Cutters to refuse to cut Swift meat. Several conferences were held. It was finally reported that the Meat Cutters could not comply with the request of the Meat Packers.

In the meanwhile the boss butchers, representing the independent packers, were also holding conferences, and they held one to which they invited the officials of the Meat Packers. Here the influence of Swift & Company began to be felt. Although there were only five of these independent shops, two of whom had reached bankruptcy before the strike, yet they were making a last bid for survival by laying their difficulties at the door of the strike, instead of to their powerful competitor. On the assumption that Swift would cease cutting prices, if the boycott were removed, they asked the officials to call it off. The three shops which were in operation admitted that Swift had always undersold them by about 2 or 3 cents. After the strike, Swift's price-cutting campaign amounted to about 5 cents on the pound.

The officials' reply to their request was to invite them to attend the regular meeting of the Meat Packers and put their case to the organization. The officials informed them that they could take no action whatever without the consent of the whole union. Whereupon the independent packers attended the meeting and begged the workers to come to their assistance by calling off the boycott. The strikers as a body seemed to realize it was a two-faced proposition and were openly derisive and antagonistic to the proposal. Many embarrassing questions were asked, the chief one being: what assurance did the strikers have of a job if the boycott were removed and the strike called off? The reply to this was that the Swift management would take back a few at a time whenever vacancies permitted. The meeting was a farce and all recognized the packers as Swift's agents. Of course, the situation marked them as such, whether there was any actual agreement between the independent packers and Swift or not. In spite of the fact that the officials supported the argument of the independent packers, the business of voting Swift off the unfair list was postponed, and the strikers were again reassured that nothing could be done without their consent.

How the "Boss" Union Works

After the meeting the independent packers got together in earnest. They invited the executive boards of the Meat Packers, of the Meat Cutters, and of the Label Trades Section of the Central Labor Council to attend a secret conference. The result of this conference was a letter drawn up by the secretary of the Meat Packers and addressed to the Central Labor Council requesting that body to remove the boycott against Swift & Company. The secretary of the Meat Packers is an eighth International Vice President. On the strength of this title and a clause in the by-laws of the Central Labor Council, the boycott was removed. The clause provides for the removal of a boycott without the consent of the local affected, if it is not being prosecuted properly.

This unforeseen event was a blow not only to the strikers, but to organized labor in general, since all union fights are usually waged on the basis of trade union autonomy. The use of the unfair list is the chief weapon, and the decision to use or not to use it has heretofore been understood to rest entirely with the local affected. To permit a local to proceed as if it, as a body, were responsible for its own actions, and then to remove the responsibility and initiative to another source, no matter how fortified by laws or provisions, has a disintegrating effect upon the union spirit in general, and destroys immediately any confidence the workers might have had in the union so victimized.

When the removal of the boycott was announced to the membership as having taken place secretly and without reference to membership sentiment, it was apparent that all previous efforts to build up union spirit were nullified.

By this act several hundred men and women, who have passed through seven weeks of unemployment, are forced out of their trade in the locality in which they live. In the agreement reached by the independent packers and union officials, it was mentioned that Swift & Company would take the strikers back when possible. At present Swift is operating on scab labor. The president of the union stated that he believed at least 50 per cent of the membership would drop out of the union. The strikers had composed over 50 per cent of the union during the strike. There is no doubt that they were betrayed in their effort to organize, and it is clear that they are now left to their individual resources. It is also clear in the minds of all the workers affected that the union as a means of building better working conditions is a fantasy, and that this act instead of creating the necessary faith in unionism, has actually created anti-union sentiment.

Such a situation bears disclosure for the reason that it is a growth separate from the theory of trade unionism and actually harmful to it. The labor movement in the trade union field cannot afford to be weakened by such an open defeat of a strike from within the ranks of labor. Trade union spirit can better be gained by a few honest

EDITORIAL OF THE MONTH

"Nervous Nellie" Still at Old Tricks

FOLLY and Kellogg are synonymous terms. The farce being carried out by our State Department in Nicaragua is of serious concern to all workers. The Pan-American Labor Congress at Washington this month has rightly been disturbed about it. Organized workingmen of Latin-America and these United States join hands in opposing this new imperialism.

We are indebted to the Scripps-Howard daily papers for their continued fight on "Nervous Nellie" and his strange way of securing good-will in Latin-American countries. It is paving the way to war.

The OKLAHOMA NEWS, a Scripps-Howard publication, voices its opinion of this policy in no uncertain words. We quote part of it as follows:

THE FRUIT OF KELLOGG'S POLICY
(Oklahoma News)

The stupendous and stupid folly of Secretary of State Kellogg in plunging this country into armed intervention in Nicaragua is now bearing its normal fruit of blood and slaughter.

Some 300 Liberal troops under General Sandino were reported killed in a bombing attack on the town of Ocotal Saturday, while one United States Marine was killed and another wounded in the 17-hour fray.

Five American airplanes bombed the town, we are told, and just how many women and children and other non-combatants were blown to bits by their high explosives we have no means of knowing. The State Department, of course, does not say, but we hazard the guess that newspapers throughout Latin-America will spread the news for us.

At present writing we do not see how the Marines or the airmen can be blamed for what happened at Ocotal. They got their orders from Washington. But we will be making a ghastly mistake if we fail to realize the gravity of the affair, the most colossal blunder Washington statesmanship has been guilty of in 100 years.

It will rouse people against us all the way from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, where, thanks to our unbelievably uncomprehending secretary of state, a wave of anti-American sentiment already is rolling high, and increasing as it rolls.

strikes, honestly lost, in which the action of the union officials cannot be open to suspicion. In the struggle for organization and better conditions, the only villains are the employing interests. To find a weak spot within the workers' organization is not conducive to nor deserving of the workers' confidence in such an organization.

The Bosses' Union or the Workers' Union

Sooner or later the fact must be realized that economic pressure forces the employing interests together and that these interests operate at the expense of the worker. This very same economic pressure forces the workers together on the opposite side of the battle line, and any attempt to induce collaboration or disadvantageous agreements on the part of the workers can only be construed as the employers' propaganda.

In the instance of the Swift strike, we have a fair example of successful organization on the part of the employing interests, and unsuccessful organization on the part of the workers. As long as the rank and file remain uninformed as to the necessity for cooperation among themselves and the true nature of their relationship with the employer, their fate must necessarily rest upon the individual judgment and sometimes the individual cupidity of the trade union official. The question is open: is the official or the worker to dominate the policy of the trade union? If it is the latter, the membership must unite to defeat the business tactics and political manoeuvering of the officials.

The Lessons of the Strike

The Swift strike, if it accomplished nothing more, presented a few major premises which are applicable to almost any field of industry today. First, the necessity for the support of any strike by the entire trade union movement is evident, since defeat in any one field has a confusing and intimidating effect upon labor in general. Sufficient moral and financial support in this strike would have defeated the influence of the independent packers, and the success of the strike would have been far-reaching as a stimulus in organizing the basic industries, and the packing industry in particular.

Second, the necessity for widespread education in labor problems is apparent. A well-informed membership, by decisive action, could have taken the lead in the strike policy, intercepting or challenging any doubtful actions of the officials. It also could have truthfully interpreted the appeal of the independent packers, nullifying any excuse presented for calling off the boycott. It is only through the ignorance of the membership that action contrary to the real interests of the organization can take place. It could further have provided prompt and persistent publicity, which, being denied in the press, must find outlet through official bulletins and the labor press.

Third, the necessity for an aggressive program on the part of the unions themselves cannot be overlooked. Organization of the basic industries is the backbone of the labor movement. And the open shop is creating such conditions that spontaneous organization is the inevitable result. This must be recognized and provision made within the organized labor movement to receive this voluntary organization and keep it.

The strength of labor is growing. It is only by facing and adopting militant tactics that the energies of the workers can be conserved and the organized dominion of the employers be defeated.

Them Foreign Relations

In the New Series of Brookwood Pages

By A. J. MUSTE

IF you were to stroll through a factory and ask Jim Smith and Ike Goldberg and Joe Bogowski as they discuss the affairs of the day over their lunch, what they thought of the foreign relations of the United States, the chances are they would tell you that they think no more of the foreign relations of the United States than they do of their wives' relations in Kalamazoo or Czecho-Slovakia. Most American workers, and in this respect they do not differ from other Americans, are very little concerned about what goes on in other countries or about the policies which in normal times Uncle Sam pursues toward them. There seems to be a strenuous effort to keep them of that opinion, to make them think that foreigners are all dirty or queer or Bolshevik and that the less we have to do with them or know about them, the better off we shall be.

If it is true that the condition of workers in other countries and the activities of our government affecting them are of no concern to the American worker, then it is also true that it makes no difference to the carpenter in Jersey City what the conditions are of carpenters in Newark, no difference to a garment worker in New York what the wages of garment workers in Philadelphia are, no difference to a textile worker in New England whether textile workers in North Carolina work eight hours longer in the week than he does, no difference to a worker in one of the steel corporation's mills what wages, hours and conditions may obtain in any other mill of the same corporation.

One hundred and fifty years ago, when one community or state was isolated from another, conditions in the one might have little or no effect on conditions in the other, but any child knows that this is no longer the case. So little are workers in one industry, state or section in the United States, able to escape the influence of what the workers in another industry or state or section do and suffer, that from this point of view we might all of us as well be working in one factory and for one boss.

But what has become true for the United States has in recent years practically become true also for the entire world. If you have any doubt about it, just reflect for a moment upon what Lindbergh and Company have been demonstrating this summer about the size of this little earth we live on.

A few years ago the American Woolen Company bought fourteen mills in Czecho-Slovakia and certain other central European countries. The Botany mills in Passaic are part of a concern doing a big textile business in Germany also. Does anybody think that what happens in one mill of the American Woolen Company in Lawrence has no effect upon the mill of the same company next door, or that conditions on one floor of the Botany Mill have nothing to do with conditions on the next floor in the same mill? Can we not see then, even with half an eye, that we workers in America are vitally concerned with what happens to our fellow workers for the same corporation in Europe? If the American Woolen Company or the Botany people could turn out goods at less cost in Germany or some other European country by paying lower wages, wouldn't they do it, even if workers in the United States had to be laid off, and may this have some bearing on the unemployment that is throwing thousands of textile workers in America on the street this very day?

The Aluminum Trust with which our sainted friend, Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, is prominently connected, has mills in many other countries as well as in the United States. In defending the pet Republican tariff on aluminum goods which makes it possible to charge a high price for these goods in this country, Brother Mellon a couple of months ago let the cat out of the bag when he said in so many words, "We don't need to keep our plants in the United States going; we can make the stuff lots cheaper in our mills in foreign countries; but so long as we can keep the tariff on in the United States, we can keep our United States plants going to manufacture goods to be sold here while our other plants produce for the world market." This, Mr. Mellon went on to point out, was doing a great favor to American workers who could get high wages and not be driven from their jobs by the more poorly paid workers in other countries. But the catch in it is so plain that one wonders whether even Mr. Mellon could possibly be so stupid as not to see it, or seeing it possibly have the nerve to think that American workers would not see through it, for obviously Mr. Mellon more than makes up for any wages he may pay these lucky American employees of his by the price he can charge for his goods behind the ample protection of the tariff wall, and if these lucky employees of his should some day be so foolish as to want to have a union or to ask a few cents more pay than Mr. Mellon thinks he can afford, how simple it will be for him to shut down his plants in the United States to teach these Bolsheviks a lesson, "compete" with himself and bring in goods he has made in his plants abroad with cheap labor, selling these at a profit here even after paying the tariff, or if this costs him too much, getting the obliging Republican congress to repeal the tariff, while great Republican orators proclaim how unselfish Brother Mellon is to get along without such protection.

What is true for textiles and aluminum is true for plenty of other American industries, oil, paper making, mining, meat packing, agricultural machinery, for example. However, even where a particular corporation does not have plants in foreign countries, the facts so far as the workers are concerned, are much the same, for business is more and more in the hands of the great banking houses, and they are international. It does not make

much difference to the bankers whether they make their money on investments in the United States or Timbuctoo.

The same truth is brought home to us in other ways. For example, if the soft coal miners in Pennsylvania are on strike, while the soft coal miners in West Virginia, just across the state line, are at work, nobody is so stupid as not to see the connection, not to realize that the Pennsylvania miners are out of luck. But when last year the British miners waged their terrific and heart-breaking battle against cuts in wages that were already down to the starvation level, American coal went into Great Britain and helped to break that strike. If necessary, British coal will come in to break the miners' strike that is going on in our own country today. It's a great life, brethren.

That's one thing, then. Economically, the world is one. It is almost the same as if all of us on this earth were working in one huge factory for one boss. Most literally, an injury to one is an injury to all. No worker anywhere is safe, except as workers everywhere have a high standard of living. Of course, the true state of the case may be covered up temporarily by noisy and incessant propaganda about how well off American workers are compared to the poor dubs in other lands, but paying a few workers temporarily a high wage, a bribe, in order to take it out on everybody else, is an old trick that we can see worked any day in any non-union factory in the United States, and it certainly ought not to fool American workers for long when it is pulled off on a slightly bigger scale. What happens abroad does matter. What the United States does by its foreign policy to raise or lower the standard of living for workers abroad has its certain effect on us here at home. When our diplomats or our troops make it harder for workers in Germany or China or Mexico to free themselves or to improve their conditions, it might as well be happening to the workers on the next floor in your own shop.

That suggests another development in our story. The title of this chapter is Imperialism. Since the war, the United States has been what is called a lending nation, that is, our good friends, J. P. Morgan and Company, Kuhn Loeb and Company, etc., have been investing billions of dollars in foreign countries, on which, of course, they draw a fat interest. They are investing it abroad because they can get more interest there where labor is cheap and all that. But where do they get all this money to invest abroad? They get it, of course, right here at home, but they don't pick it off the bushes by the road-side. We produce so much here in this great and glorious land every year that after you and I have bought all we can afford to buy of what we produce, there is a great surplus, money left over. Of course, it would be wicked to throw this money into the ocean or to let it rust in the bank vaults. Why not put it to work for—the bankers, invest it abroad? Precisely. What do you say, Jim Smith, you want to know whether it would not be better if this surplus were used to pay higher wages in the United States or provide for shorter hours? You are a bright boy but you had better watch your step; you make a noise like a Bolshevik.

So then we are interested in these foreign investments. It is our money, though we don't draw the interest on it.

We might observe in passing that sometimes these financial boys get us going and coming, kill several birds with one stone. You may have read in the papers that Uncle Sam is trying to collect from European nations the money we loaned them during the war and interest thereon. With the exception of Great Britain, these European countries tell us they can't pay their war debts in full, so settlements are made on the basis of what our Debt Fund Commission thinks they can pay. The most generous settlement so far is the one with Italy. Italy will pay us back eventually if all goes well, less than 30 cents on the dollar. Since these war debts are actually to a great extent what is back of the Liberty bonds, Victory loans, etc., held by the people of the United States, this means that you get from Italy 30 cents on the dollar for your bond, if you still have it, and you raise the rest of the dollar by letting Uncle Sam tax you to pay yourself back. Immediately after this little transaction between our government and Mussolini, however, J. P. Morgan made a loan of many millions to Italy, and you may be sure that that loan will be collected, principal and interest, in full, or J. P. Morgan and Secretary of State Kellogg and, if necessary, the whole United States army and navy will know the reason why.

The government of Mussolini, which is thus kindly assisted by the United States, is the one which wiped the whole Italian labor movement out of existence, and so we are supporting the anti-labor reaction throughout the world, and who doubts that having put our benediction in such practical fashion on Mussolini's methods, we shall use those same methods to teach labor a lesson in the United States, if it seems necessary?

But we must follow up this money of ours, which the bankers invest abroad and collect big interest on. The methods which our capitalists use in buying up mines, oil lands and railroad rights with this money, are not always the most scrupulous. (If you want to read an exciting story about some of these things, get Upton Sinclair's recent novel entitled "Oil".) Nor is the treatment meted out by our representatives in the so-called backward countries to the inhabitants of those countries, the heathen Chinee, the Mexicans, the Africans and Filipinos, always of the gentlest and best. I can remember a young American business man who had been in China, telling me proudly about the narrow paths that do service as roads or streets there; of how they are too narrow to accommodate two persons abreast and the white man always kicked the Chinaman into the ditch if he did not make way promptly when the two met on one of these foot paths. Then, too, our bankers are not the only ones who go investing money, seeking markets, concessions and raw materials in these "backward" countries. British, French, German, Japanese and other capitalists are also out to get them, so every once in a while the exploitation, repression and insult get too much for the Chinese, the Mexicans, Africans and Filipinos, or the various capitalist groups fall out and have a fight as to which is to get the biggest bone. Then we have a War.

Who fights that war? Who pays for it? Of course, the masses of the people do, the workers—you and I, after we have been taught that all these other people, the Chinese, the Mexicans, the Africans, the Filipinos, the French, British, Germans, Japs, as the case may be, are devils and we shall save civilization, Christianity and

SOME OF OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS

Does the "Yellow Peril" Mean Anything to Us?

IT is on the Yang-tse River. That is the great water that irrigates the garden spot of China.

Men, for a few pennies a day, are engaging in the crudest and hardest labor. They shove the boats laden with rice or other stuff along that river in the fashion shown in the picture.

Have we anything to do with these men? Much, our jobs, everything that is worth anything, only if we immediately set to work to wipe them off the earth. And be it remembered that we pay for these wars not only when they are actually in progress but every day of our lives. We have to pay interest on war debts, pensions to war victims, to build battle ships, manufacture munitions, to maintain huge armies and navies. Eighty cents out of every dollar we pay in taxation (and all of us pay taxes, indirectly in the form of higher rents, for example, even if not directly) into the national treasury goes for wars, past or future.

You see the game then. Your money is invested abroad for others to draw interest on; it is used by these bankers to exploit backward countries in competition with financial groups or other capitalist nations. Thus, war is provoked as certainly as the sun rises in the morning; and then you fight the war and pay the war expenditures in order to make sure that these bankers do not lose the interest they are drawing on your money.

That's why the foreign relations of the United States are mighty close relations for every American worker, and so we must try to be as informed and intelligent about them as we can.

The moral of it? When the workers in a given trade in this country learn that their interests are all the same, that the conditions of one inevitably affect the conditions of the other, they unite into unions on a nation-wide scale. When we learn that workers all over the world have the same interests and that the conditions of workers in one part of the world inevitably affect the conditions of those in the other, there is nothing for it but for the workers of the world to unite—an international alliance of labor in the trade union, political, cooperative and educational field. Already, in spite of many obstacles and divisions, beginnings have been made. If you would like to know more of these efforts at international solidarity, write to the editor or to the author of this Brookwood page.

Any bettering of their condition is a bettering of brothers. Their fortunes are being linked up with ours, more and more everyday. They may be thousands of miles away. But we feel the effects of their presence, in our homes and at our tasks.

We may shut them out by immigration restriction. We shall then be compelled, in self-defense, to aid in raising their condition in their homeland. Capital jumps international boundaries. American, British, French and Italian concerns employ them at their meagre wage. They compete with us. They are doing so more and more. It is this competition which is the real "Yellow Peril" for us.

Any bettering of their condition is a bettering of ours. Their enslavement is, in a measure, our enslavement. As Muste says: "Economically, the world is one." When the workers understand this thoroughly, we will move for that international union cooperation that will front International Imperialism—and defeat it.

William M. Fincke

The Founder of Brookwood and Manumit

By NELLIE M. SEEDS

WILLIAM M. Fincke laid down his life as he had lived it, smiling and unafraid, steadfast in his confidence that the principles to which he had dedicated himself would live on in the institutions which he had founded. Although personally not well known to the labor movement as a whole, his contribution to it was gigantic in proportion to his contacts. Endowed with a generous share of this world's goods, Bill Fincke, as all who loved him think of him, was never content to spend it selfishly upon himself and those nearest him. His heart included all mankind.

Prominent in preparatory school and college as an athlete, a leader and lover of men, always deeply religious in mind and heart, Bill Fincke went into business shortly after graduation, and was on the road to great commercial success. Discontented, however, with such a career, he decided later to enter the ministry and enrolled at Union Theological Seminary. Because of his adherence to pacifist principles during the war, Bill Fincke lost his church, although at the moment when they were voting him out, he was actually on the high seas as a volunteer in the American Ambulance Corps.

During all these years he was gradually developing what proved to be his deepest and most lasting interest, a belief that education was the hope of the future.

Brookwood Labor College owes its inception to Bill Fincke. With his wife and co-worker, Helen Hamlin Fincke, he organized the school which later developed into the college, and gave to it his home and family estate. When he later felt that the best good of Brookwood demanded it, he did that rarest of all great acts,—quietly withdrew from the school that he had founded, with all confidence in those who were to follow him.

Shortly after this he became intimately involved in trade union affairs, and was arrested at Duquesne during the steel strike, in a free speech issue.

For Children

Meanwhile, his interest was gradually becoming focussed upon the education of younger children. He wanted their lives to be full, rich, and free. He wanted not only some children, but all children to share in the heritage of life, liberty, and happiness.

Again he founded an educational institution to which he gave his own home, a picturesque farm of 177 acres in the rolling foothills of the Berkshire Mountains, near Pawling, New York. Surrounded by a natural panorama of rare beauty, with a tumbling mountain stream rushing here over rocks, there over a quiet pool where toy boats can be launched and swimming has no dangers; with hillsides for cultivation in summer, skiing and coasting in winter; a temporary ice pond for skating, wood to be cut, fields to be ploughed, seeded, and harvested, animals to be cared for,—endowed thus with everything that nature could contribute to make childhood rich, happy, and free, Manumit was socialized as an educational institution for the children of workers.

In September 1924 Bill and Helen Fincke called together a group of labor men and women and educators and organized the Manumit Associates. Under their supervision and control the Finckes personally directed Manumit School until his illness compelled their withdrawal.

The Why of It

The philosophy behind Manumit School can best be expressed, perhaps, in Bill Fincke's own words in the foreword of the School Prospectus:-

Manumit School

A world order based upon justice and cooperation, in which the individual may find freedom, is the end for which many labor groups are working; and for which certain research groups, philosophers, and idealists hope. Fundamental changes in our social and industrial order must be made before this goal is reached. Education is one of the most potent forces in reshaping social conditions. Hence the necessity for education which will develop men and women with the knowledge, staying power, and inspiration to rebuild institutions and alter conditions which cramp the lives of most of the workers today. With this end in view Manumit School takes its place among the educational laboratories here and abroad that foster the growth of individuals freed from inherited errors of the past.

Education at Manumit as conceived of by the Finckes was primarily a matter of creating a free environment in which the child might develop his complete personality. The entire life of the child was to be an educative and integrating experience. Organized in a co-operative community, Manumit includes no distinctions of rank or position. All community tasks are equally shared by all members of the group. Responsibility is placed on each individual in proportion to his ability to carry it. No arbitrary authoritarian decrees, but rather the social discipline of intelligent living; no prizes or punishments, but the joy of creative achievement as the incentive to activity; self-government in school and community life; a concrete or factual approach to all subjects and material studied; division into age groups whose activities centre around projects; these are but a few among the tenets of Manumit's philosophy.

Happy, Rosy Faces

One needs only to visit Manumit to discover its effect upon children. See the happy, rosy faces, glowing with health and abundance of vitality. Hear the eager questioning voices debating some question with all the seriousness of a learned assembly. Watch the chemistry group attentively gathered around their teacher, while he chalks his formulas on the floor for lack of a blackboard. Participate in any of their creative activity pro-

CONSIDERING THE NEGRO

Significant Symposium at Brookwood

By HELEN G. NORTON

A SYMPOSIUM on the Negro in Industry and in the Labor Movement recently held at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., was significant in many respects. It brought together representatives of such diverse groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Atlanta School of Social Work, the Pullman Porters' Union, and the Brotherhood of Dining Car Employees. Their varied experience in dealing with conflicts over civil rights, developing employment services with Negroes, training social workers have led all of them to the conviction that the Negro must learn to think of himself primarily as a worker and must seek his salvation in organization as a worker.

Among the prominent leaders of the Negro who took part in the discussion were Dr. E. F. Frazier, A. Philip Randolph, Dr. W. Bagnall, Riezni B. Lemus, Charles S. Johnson, and A. L. Harris, Jr. Norman Thomas, Ben Stolberg and members of the Brookwood staff also participated in the discussion.

Charles S. Johnson presented some of the results of a very painstaking study he has about completed of the attitude of the unions toward the colored workers and the extent of organization among the latter in the United States. There are altogether probably one and a half million Negro workers in the United States today that are potentially organizable. Of these probably a little over 65,000 have actually been discovered in union in the places investigated by Mr. Johnson in connection with his study. A conservative estimate, therefore, is that there are probably about 100,000 organized in labor unions in the United States. Some of the principal trades containing organized Negro workers include the Longshoremen with 15,000 members, the Hodcarriers with 8,000, the Miners with 5,000, Garment Trades Unions, 6,000, Musicians, 3,000, and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, 1,000.

The attitude of unions toward the admission of colored workers varies greatly. Some of the most important unions, such as the Machinists, Railway Carmen, Railway Clerks, Transportaion Brotherhoods, exclude Negroes either by constitutional provision or by ritual. Another group places no constitutional or ritualistic bar in the way of Negroes but in practice excludes them or seriously discriminates against them.

A third group includes unions that admit Negroes but only into separate locals subject to the control of white locals in the same locality. Among these are the Musicians, Barbers, Laundry Workers and Textile Workers. Still another group organizes Negroes either in mixed locals with whites or in separate locals depending upon the locality. Among these are the Longshoremen, Hod Carriers and Tunnel Workers. Among important unions freely admitting Negroes in mixed locals without discrimination are the United Mine Workers of America and the various garment trades unions. Finally there are independent Negro unions such as the Dining Car Employees and the Pullman Porters.

That the problem of organizing Negroes while complicated by certain racial features is not essentially different from that of organizing any group of unskilled or semi-skilled workers; that while Negroes may rightly look for help from the white unions, in the last analysis Negroes like every other group must organize themselves; and that the Negro unions must not remain aloof but must affiliate with the main body of the American labor movement, was the unanimous conclusion of those taking part in this symposium.

jects, such as printing a weekly newspaper, installing a radio set, developing photographs, building a chicken house, or manufacturing musical instruments.

Manumit children learn democracy by practising it. They learn to appreciate the role which labor has played in the history of the world, by a fair and just presentation of its achievements. No propaganda or ism is taught. All material is approached as scientifically as the maturity of the instructor permits. The initiative of the child is stimulated and he is urged to question and weigh opinions, rather than to accept them blindly. He is taught, in short, not what, but how to think.

Experimental schools are developing in all quarters of Europe and America. They are casting aside established formulas and methods of procedure. But for the most part their doors are automatically closed to all save those who are able to pay high tuition fees, or obtain scholarships.

It was Bill Fincke's vision that Manumit School should offer this free type of education to the children of the workers, at a price which all could afford to pay. For a tuition fee, therefore, of $40 per month—less than half the actual cost—Manumit offers to the children of trade unionists all that is best in education and life. Nineteen different trades were represented this year at Manumit. State federations, international unions, central and local bodies, have endorsed its aims and objectives. It stands pledged today to the labor movement.

But in a bigger and broader sense Manumit stands pledged to perpetuate the vision and idealism, the high courage and unselfish devotion to a cause, the willingness to toil long hours with his hands as well as his mind, the unswerving faith in human possibilities, the broad love of humanity and real joy in the adventure that we call life—that characterized its founder—William M. Fincke.

Newark vs. Free Speech

Why Budenz Was Arrested

PAGE TWO THE NEWARK LEDGER, SUNDAY, JUNE 26, 1927 SECTION A

Police Rout Sacco-Vanzetti Rally

Stop Military Park Demonstration and Arrest 2 Speakers

New York Labor Leader and Newark Man, Freed Later, Declare City Must Apologize for Action.

A squad of police broke up a milling crowd of more than 500 protesting persons and took two speakers into custody yesterday in Military park, when members of 16 organizations attempted to hold a Sacco-Vanzetti conference after city officials ordered that it be prevented.

Saturday afternoon crowds on Broad street saw the onslaught of the police, who stopped harangues of two speakers by ushering them to a patrol wagon. Shoppers watched two hours' effort by the officers to disperse the angry crowd of men and women, who circulated petitions and marched with placards.

Shouting "Sacco and Vanzetti must be free!" Louis F. Budenz, editor of Labor Age, New York, and 1924 manager of the Lafollette-Wheeler campaign here, clambered up the concrete rampart surrounding the Monument of All Wars and began denunciation of "Massachusetts justice."

The police squad, under Sergt. Emil Schmidt, advanced, under orders to prevent the meeting, for which the permit had been revoked. As he declaimed loudly on "our right to free speech," Budenz was led away by officers.

SPEAKER REPLACED

Irving Freeman, 564 South Eighteenth street, employee of a labor news syndicate, ascended the stand while his comrade was being taken away.

"They cannot stop our meeting," he shouted. "We have the right to speak here under the Constitution of the United States. We must free our comrades, Sacco and Vanzetti."

Policemen hurried back, broke through the crowd and seized the speaker.

Budenz and Freeman were taken to the First Precinct, where bondsmen awaited. Lawyers had been retained by both.

SPEAKERS RELEASED

After conference with Police Capt. Thomas Daly, both men were released, and no charges were placed against them. Budenz declared that "city officials must apologize."

The American Civil Liberties Union, through Abraham Field, 327 Hawthorne avenue, two weeks ago obtained a permit for the meeting, to be held in protest against executions of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in Massachusetts.

Late Friday announcement was made that the permit had been revoked by Carl Baanwart, superintendent of shade tree division, department of parks, because it was feared that the meeting might cause serious trouble.

Budenz declared last night that the Civil Liberties Union will renew effort to hold the conference, and that a permit for a meeting next Saturday afternoon, in Military Park, will be asked Monday. Budenz lives in Ro[illegible] NEW[illegible]

BARBER AVERS STRIKERS MADE DEATH THREAT

Told Life Was in Peril If He Continued Work, He Says —Early Peace Seen.

A death threat was charged to a group of striking barbers yesterday as preliminary negotiations between workers and employers indicated an early settlement of difference over wages and working conditions.

Samuel Ginsburg, barber, 121 Watson avenue reported to police that a group of strikers urged him to join them and threatened his life if he failed to walk out. He asked police to trace their automobile.

Rosario Rotolo, international organizer of the barbers' union, last night expressed confidence that terms would be made early this week. Tentative proposals are to be made the union at 2 P. M. Monday, at Montogomery hall, by employers' representatives, he said.

It was reported that most of the master barbers have consented to $30 weekly wage, with commission of 50 per cent. on returns above $45 per chair, as a basis for dickering. The union asks $35 and the same commission. Employers favor 8 o'clock closing, and the union asks 7 o'clock.

A dozen downtown employers, who have kept their men, and who have not made overtures to the union, are to meet in the week. Union officials are hopeful that city-wide terms will be favorably considered by that group.

A minimum fine of 100 marks over the head of striking barbers who picket Belleville shops to the annoyance of the owners, Recorder Fitzsimmons warned five men who were arrested in that town today.

The men were arrested by Police Chief Flynn and three patrolmen after a riot call had been sent to headquarters from the barber shop of Dominick Colonino, 77 Washington avenue, Belleville. Colonino's shop and that of George Fry, negro, across the street, had been entered forcibly by the men, it was charged.

The five who were arrested were released on promise of good behavior. They gave their names as Thom[illegible]storno, 347 Littleton av[illegible]

Protest Meeting Halted by Police

Police hustling two leaders in Sacco-Vanzetti conference into patrol wagon following breaking up of meeting at Military Park yesterday afternoon

When Louis F. Budenz, New York labor paper editor (left center) and Irving Freeman, local representative of a labor news syndicate (right center), attempted to speak at Sacco-Vanzetti protest conference at Military Park, for which the city had revoked permit Sergeant Emil Schmidt (extreme left) and Patrolman C. McCormack (extreme right), took them into custody.

JOBS ASSURED FOR ALL IN U. S., COOLIDGE SAYS

President Tells Dakotan Delegation America Offers Highest Living Standards.

RAPID CITY, S. D., June 25 (AP).—Under an American flag whipping from a pole on the front lawn of the Summer White House, President Coolidge declared today that this emblem gave assurance of "best occupation or job on earth."

"That is what the American flag means," he told members of the South Dakota Legislature and their families who had left their work at the capital city of Pierre to bring him an official welcome.

"Anyone who is under the American flag," he added, "has an occupation — you may call it a job, but it is in[illegible]

FOR the time being, we have to count Newark, N. J., in the anti-free speech column. The above page from the NEWARK LEDGER recounts the arrest of the Editor of LABOR AGE at a Sacco-Vanzetti meeting there. He spoke as a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The circumstances reveal the present uncertain state of civil liberty in America, despite the surface appearance of some free speech. A permit for the meeting was granted two weeks in advance. On the eve of the meeting, when neither speakers nor auditors could be warned, the permit was cancelled. Mr. Budenz insisted on speaking, and was arrested. He was held one hour at the station and released with apologies. Irving Freeman, a representative of the Federated Press, was also arrested, when attempting to speak, and was likewise released. Next month a big meeting for free speech will be held in Newark. We look forward to a victory for freedom then.

HOW THE REAL SILK SPIRIT WORKETH

The Kiddie Car Race and the Speed-Up Cuts

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

STOOPING to conquer is an ancient pastime. It has been brought up to date at the Real Silk Hosiery Mills. The "Real Silk Spirit", of which the management is ever talkative, must be inculcated in the workers, even though the officials become buffoons for the purpose. That "Real Silk Spirit" pays—the management. And what will management not do for further profits?

On Thursday, July 21st, the company union of the Real Silkers held its annual picnic. This is the famous and infamous E. M. B. A. The publicity agent of the company was on the job, as usual. His stuff was accepted word for word by the Indianapolis News. We note this, in the fulsome announcement of the picnic (issue of July 18th):

"The employes engineer and finance the annual picnic by definite appropriations from the association fund.

"The association (E. M. B. A.) in itself is an interesting organization, as it makes for a self-government among employes of Real Silk. It governs the conditions of work and also governs the conditions of play. Through the association the employes protect their jobs against any arbitrary ruling on the part of any superior. It acts as a clearing house for labor between the various departments in order to prevent one department from discharging help because of slack work while another department is adding to its force."

So said the publicity agent. Of course, he lied. But what is a lie or two in drab and low-waged Indianapolis? Over in the full fashioned department they have had a sample of self-government. Just as the seamless workers have. The men in full fashioned, at the present time at the mercy of the company, were encouraged to speed up. They are dealt with individually, and each receives wages on a different basis. One is thus played against the other. Despite that, out of fear, speed up they did. What was the grand outcome? A cut!

Naturally, it was sugar-coated. They were promised a gradual raise, month by month. One of these increases has come. But none have followed. Several months have passed—and the full fashioned men wait in vain. So much for "protection".

The fear among the workers reflects the other side of this issue. You can only interview them by ones or twos or threes. I have seen them at their homes, on the streets, in various places. It always had to be done secretly. They spoke only after being fully assured of my credentials and background. Their story was one of exploitation and of subservience to the whims of the management and foremen. I have a full list of the names and addresses of the men with whom I have spoken, and what they said. Necessarily, this list must be kept secret. But I am saving it for the day when I can use the full facts at my disposal.

The picnic itself indicates the workings of that mysterious spirit, for lack of which a man may be discharged. The officials of the company did their stooping there. They ran a race in kiddie cars, before the assembled and edified working force! Then, on the following Saturday afternoon, they compelled the said force to work until five o'clock—to make up for the holiday. Nothing was said in the papers about that. The publicity agent evidently had a lapse of memory.

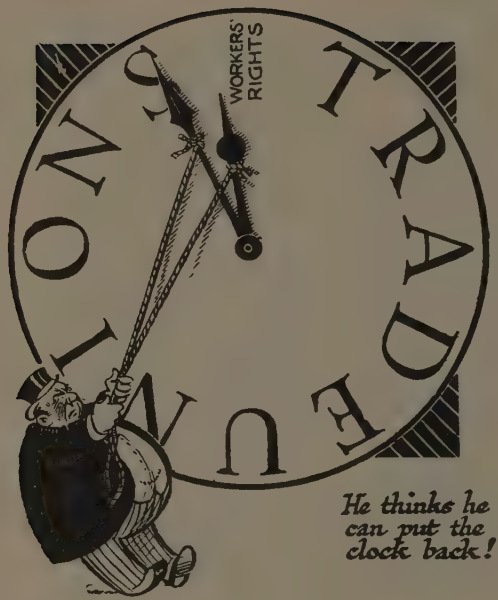
The entire affair was glorified advertising for the company. It was even set forth in the press that certain "free feeds" would be handed out on that auspicious day. The E. M. B. A. Builder of July 19th declares that "The Eyes of the City Will Be on Us." (This was formerly the Real Silk Builder. Since our initial blast a few months ago, it has changed its name. The implication in the former title was too obvious.)

The company organ stresses the parade, which precedes the picnic. Wending its way through the streets of Indianapolis, this exhibition of the trained seals of the company affords more advertising. But nothing was related about the "docking" which members of the office force received, if they did not show up for the parade. Nor the threats of being fired which brought many a "loyal" factory worker into line.

It was not so long ago—immediately following our expose, in fact—that the Hon. Zinken made the rounds of certain departments. He inquired, individually, of the workers if they were satisfied with their wages and conditions. Some, out of fear, were silent or declared they were. Others, however, spoke up. They expressed decided dissatisfaction. Thereupon, they were informed: "Why don't you get out, then?" The intimation being that they would "get out" quickly, if they persisted in any further answer of this sort.

The officials of the company make a great practice of hob-nobbing with "socially-minded folks". They sing an endless song of their good deeds for the workers. It is this arrant hypocrisy which, more than anything else, moves honest men to anger. It is only a question of time until the workers will answer in their own way—by unionization and revolt.

Internationally Speaking



He thinks he can put the clock back!

"ROUND AND ROUND AND ROUND"

The world's whirligig goes on, as we note here. In Geneva, where the big powers meet to "disarm", it is around and around. So remarks the reactionary NEW YORK POST. For once, it is right. Every nation is thinking, not of actually disarming itself, but of new ways to weaken the other fellow. That, as a prelude to the next war. Each set of diplomats is ably seconded by their corps of secret service spies. Not much consolation is to be got out of that.

Premier Baldwin of Britain has put on the Fascist Black shirt and laurel. So thinks one of London's most conservative capitalist papers. Temporarily, the scheme may succeed. For the moment only, however. The clock of Time cannot be turned back. It will move forward as the PLEBS indicates in its cartoon. The future is with the workers. Despite handicaps and halts, they will march on to international power. There is much consolation there!

Reuben Williams and His Brothers

1. The Mine Toll

By HARRIET SILVERMAN

FIFTEEN years ago, Reuben Williams, a negro miner was standing in a deep railroad cut when a landslide occurred and he was pinned between two boulders. Both his legs were crushed. They had to be amputated above the knees. Now "Reuben is an expert miner in the Glen Morrison mine of the Morrison Coal Co., West Virginia," according to a story printed in the October, 1925 issue of COAL AGE. "It takes him longer to walk to his working place each morning, but he starts earlier and arrives when the rest do. Not having to stoop so much, he drills, blasts and loads his coal more easily than most men. The shortleggedness which is a handicap on the surface, stands him in good stead underground and his output of coal is as good as anybody's. . . . During two months recently he averaged 14 tons—drilled, blasted and loaded each working day. . . . Thin seam coal drove him to lose his legs and now it is giving him back an honest, independent living and a lot of personal satisfaction". . . . Losing his legs only made him a better miner, is the conclusion of the coal corporation. By the same logic, workers who are killed in the mines ought to be infinitely better off, relieved of the hazards of coal mining, and the struggle to make ends meet. By such reasoning the coal corporations evade the issue of wiping out present hazards. By such publicity we measure their brutal indifference to the cost in human life.

The industrial waste charged against American business management by Secretary Hoover in his report of 1921 is nowhere more glaringly apparent than in the coal mines of the United States. If mismanagement and exploitation of raw material resulted merely in economic waste this would be indictment enough. But added to the waste of the natural resources of the country is the disregard of human life that is nothing short of criminal. Dangerous natural conditions combined with hazards that are controllable are snuffing out the lives of 2,500 miners annually. 30,000 serious accidents incapacitating workers for more than 14 days and between 75,000 and 100,000 accidents where the disability lasts from 1 to 14 days occur yearly. Conditions which make for this ghastly record affect approximately 850,000 workers employed in and around coal mines. Of this number 147,456 (20 per cent) are in the anthracite field and 584,985 (80 per cent) are in the bituminous.

In an effort to cover up the wholesale slaughter in American mines, statisticians and other experts figure our death rate by output in tons rather than by the number of workers killed per thousand of full time workers. Dr. Royal M. Meeker, a statistician of international reputation has declared that "to measure deaths and disabilities of workers on a tonnage basis" is utterly erroneous and bad statistic . . . the only just accurate basis is the man hours worked during which time the workers were exposed to the hazards of industrial accidents." Our mines contribute 42 per cent of the world's coal supply. The output per man per day in the bituminous mines of the United States is three times that of England and Germany, and in the past 30 years the daily output per man has increased by 67 per cent. Speed-up methods and machinery, also the fact that the coal seams of the United States are thicker, easier to get at and we utilize more and larger machinery, are the reasons for this enormous output.

Instead of giving miners increasingly better and safer working conditions, what do we find?

Major Disasters

"During the first four months of 1927, 812 men lost their lives from accidents in the coal-mining industry. Three major disasters, that is, accidents causing the loss of five or more lives, occurred during the month of May, 1927. On April 2 an explosion at Cokeburg, Pa., caused the death of six men. On April 8 a rush of mud and gravel into a mine at Carbonado, Wash., resulted in the loss of seven lives, and on April 30th 97 men lost their lives in a mine explosion at Everettville, West Va.," according to the latest report of the U. S. Bureau of Mines Bulletin 2592.

Take the case of Utah In one explosion the lives of 172 miners were wiped out. Following this the state adopted safety measures improving its code to avoid more disasters. This brought into existence the first compulsory Rock Dusting Law. Rock dusting a mine helps to prevent coal dust explosions. Had this one preventive measure been used there is every reason to believe there would not have been this terrific loss of life in the Utah explosion. Last year at West Frankfort, Ill., more than a thousand lives were saved when an explosion occurred because the mine had been rock dusted. The cost of this one safety measure is less than a quarter of a cent a ton. Yet today there are only six states—Utah, Pennsylvania, Wyoming, West Virginia, Indiana and Ohio—with compulsory rock dusting laws.

Turning to the other important mining states and taking the situation separately for each, the U. S. Department of Labor Bulletin No. 425 issued in 1927 states:

Alabama

"In 1922 as in all states where mining is important, coal mining stood at the head of the number of accidents both fatal and non-fatal."

Idaho

"Lumbering and mining were responsible for the greatest number of fatalities in Idaho for 1920 and 1924."

Illinois

"In Illinois in the years 1920 and 1923 the coal mines had the greatest number of fatalities—171 in 1920 and 155 in 1923."

Indiana

"The Indiana reporting system makes it impossible to separate the fatal from the non-fatal accidents, however in 1920 and 1921 metal products had the greatest number of accidents with coal mines second in the list."

Kentucky

"The coal mines of Kentucky furnished considerably more than half of the fatalities in 1924 and nearly half of all reported accidents were in this industry."

Montana

"The mining accident record for five years shows 558 deaths; that is an average of 112 a year or more than two-thirds of all the fatal accidents in the State. This is for coal and metal mining."

Oklahoma

Captures the prize in another direction. The constitution of Oklahoma is so framed that "fatal accidents are excluded from the compensation law". Since 1921 no record of such cases is available.. In 1920 deaths in the coal mines of Oklahoma ranked second.

On January 13, 1926, there were 91 dead in one explosion in Oklahoma and not one penny of benefit collectible from the State under the Workmen's Compensation Law to help the widows and orphaned children.

Pennsylvania

Coal mines and the metal industry are responsible for the greatest number of accidents in this State. While accidents in the metal industry have decreased from 95,956 in 1916 to 47,488 in 1924, coal mine accidents show no decrease:

52,537 accidents in 1916
52,537 accidents in 1923
54,449 accidents in 1924

West Virginia

"Naturally coal mining is far in excess of any other industry, both in fatal (593) and non-fatal (12,152) cases."

Wyoming

"Coal mining in Wyoming as wherever it is an important industry, is a prolific source of casualties, there being 28 fatalties in 1920 and 55 in 1924."

The states do as they please in the matter of reporting coal mine accidents. The records that are reported point to the fact that the slaughter in American coal mines is increasing. The death rate today in the United States is four times greater than in Great Britain, although the British mines are older, deeper down in the ground, more difficult to work because the seams are thin, in many cases used up and the hazards on the whole generally greater than in our mines. If in the face of these difficulties Great Britain has made conditions safer, and prevented miners from being killed off, why not the United States, where the task is easier?

In the British mines for the decade ending with the year 1921 the average fatality rate, based on the number killed per thousand 300-day workers in coal mines, was 4.26 in the United States and 1.29 in Great Britain. In 1922 the rate for the United States rose to 4.89; in Great Britain it fell to 1.09. In the United States for 1923 the rate was 4.39 and for the first six months of 1924, it is estimated to have risen to 5.64.

In this, the richest nation in the world, "more men are killed by accidents in coal mines in proportion to the number of men working than in any of the leading European countries."

Why Coal Mining Is Extra-Hazardous

Natural underground conditions make coal mining one of our most hazardous industries. About 85 per cent of the dangers to life and limb are due to:

Falls of roof and coal—resulting in 50 per cent of the accidents.

Haulage and transportation—20 per cent.

Explosions of gas or dust—12 to 15 per cent.

Explosives—4 to 5 per cent.

Electricity—4 to 5 per cent.

Accidents from falling into shafts—machinery, surface accidents, etc., approximately 10 per cent.

Explosions from natural causes such as gas pockets and coal dust, though hard to control, can be prevented by proper safety measures, such as careful and regular testing for gas, rock dusting, wetting the coal dust, proper ventilation and other methods. Falls of roof and coal which cause one-half of coal mine accidents, can certainly be brought under control. Failure to supply the necessary timber, requiring workers to put up props without paying them for this work so that they must "speed-up" in order to keep up with production, can be stopped. Systematic testing of roofs, allowing the miners enough time to do the work properly at the regular pay for mining coal, would undoubtedly help to check this source of accidents.

The "fire boss" whose time should be spent entirely in seeking out the danger spots and inspecting safety conditions is given all kinds of odd jobs making or replacing doors, brattices, or stoppings with the result that the safety end of his job takes second place. If the mines had one full-time inspector or "fire boss" for every 20 men, the check on danger spots would soon result in a marked drop in the accident rate.

In the bituminous mines the coal beds are generally thinner and flatter. This tends to make for special dangers through the falling of coal and slate and accumulations of gas in the working places.

Explosions

Fine particles of coal dust, which are always present in a mine, are highly inflammable and explosive, the only exception being perhaps the highest grade of anthracite. The danger of disastrous explosions of coal dust is a constant menace in bituminous mines.

Gas which is likely to be present in all coal mines, even those thought to be non-gaseous is always a source of grave danger. In fact it is decidedly unwise to regard any mine as "non-gassy", because failure to take the necessary precautions may mean a serious disaster wherever a hidden gas pocket goes off.

In anthracite mines where the coal and rock is harder, more explosives are generally used than in bituminous mines which makes the danger due to explosives that much greater.

Falls of Roof and Coal

Although 50 per cent of miners are killed each year by falls of roof and coal, the U. S. Bureau of Mines has only just begun a study into the causes of these accidents.

Mr. J. W. Paul, Senior Mining Engineer of the Bureau of Mines, in a recent article, points out that "Falls of roof may be due to the caving in or shifting of the ground where the mining has weakened the natural support", but also states that "No attempt is made to support the main mass of overlying material by the use of timber except in localized zones". Also that "The laws of the states relating to timbering in mines must be reviewed and some records obtained upon the observance of the laws.

"Losing h s legs only made him a better miner."

Human life is cheap to the coal corporations.

Coal Age

"Detailed study must be made at representative mines in the different fields to ascertain the benefits of systematic timbering versus lack of system or regulations." He finally puts his finger on the crux of the matter as follows: "It requires no stretch of the imagination to conceive a plan or method of roof support which would give a maximum degree of safety against accidents from roof falls, but the carrying out of such a plan in some mines would be prohibitive owing to the excessive cost, the cost of the timber being in excess of the value of the mineral obtained, in which event mining would be unprofitable and the project would be abandoned.

"In some mines it may be found that systematic timbering may be less expensive than the cost of delays due to interrupted operation and the cost of cleaning away fallen material, and such a reaction would thereby reduce the hazard from falls."

In other words, saving money, not lives, is the deciding factor.

Handling Coal

Hauling coal sometimes to distances of several thousand feet often at high speed in dark and narrow passageways inevitably results in serious accidents. If more money were spent on proper grading and care of tracks, repairing, inspection of electricity and the buying of up-to-date equipment, there is no question that such accidents could be reduced to a minimum

Blasting

About 85 per cent of the explosives used in coal mining is still black powder and dynamite.

The continued widespread use of black powder instead of "permissible explosive" which because of the short flame reduces the danger of fire and explosion in the mines, must be charged to the corporations. Not only are miners exposed to this extraordinary danger, but they are compelled to buy their own explosives, their own safety lamps and their own tools. This practice offers an excellent chance to blame the miners for mine disasters, charging them with keeping their tools in bad condition, refusing to use safety devices or using too much powder. Compelling miners to buy their own "shot" is an economy for the corporations but it 's an economic hardship to the men and increases the danger of accidents by allowing the storage of explosives outside the mine, sometimes even in the miner's home when the corporations fail to provide suitable storage places. The practice of robbing the miner's pay envelope should be stopped.

All blasting, whether of coal or rock in coal mines, should be by "permissible explosive", fired electrically. Black blasting powder or dynamite should be prohibited. All blasting should be prohibited during the regular working shift. This could be done if men were provided with a sufficient number of work places to enable them to mine enough coal to earn a living. The way matters are now it is often necessary for a miner to have to fire anywhere from 4 to 12 times a day to get out his coal.

Electricity

Hazards resulting from uncovered wires and the use of electricity, without special precautions to insure proper installation and upkeep, are too well known to need further description. With the increasing use of electricity in the mines the greatest precaution must be taken to avoid fires, explosions and electrocutions from this source.

Other Hazards

While the most serious causes of mine accidents are due to explosions, bad ventilation, unsafe methods of hauling, blasting, timbering, layout out of mine works, pillar pulling, poor selection and installation of equipment, other hazards also exist in and around coal mines such as falling into shafts from high steep places, accidents from unguarded machinery, being hit by objects other than coal or roof, including accidents at the surface in and around the tipple.

Mine Safety Laws Fail

Mr. Daniel Harrington, the present Chief Engineer of the Safety Division of the U. S. Bureau of Mines, in analyzing the coal problem two years ago summed up the situation as follows: "A few years ago a doctor of the U. S. Public Health Service stated that the mining industry in the United States is at least twenty years backward as to protection of the health and safety of its employes. Possibly the statement was somewhat drastic, yet it undoubtedly has much basis in fact even at this time."

Mickey Tries Education

An Autopsy in the Anthracite

By ED. FALKOWSKI

I.

A YEAR has passed since a youthful enthusiast came to the hard coal fields to implant seeds of workers' education in uncut furrows. Trade unionist to the marrow, rolled through the dusts of many states, this young man strayed into these fields, got a job, and set about at once to more serious tasks. Regarding himself as missionary of the great gospel of workers' education, seldom a meeting night pass without his rising to his feet to talk on his favorite subject. Miners yawned in their usual manner, and continued deaf to these warnings that ignorance was the sapper undermining the labor movement.

Mickey was a good fighter. A few months of active participation in union meetings gave him a reputation as one who "knew his stuff". Miners instinctively admire a person "who knows his stuff", and when the annual local elections bobbed around, some one nominated Mick as president and he carried the election.

Mick now looked about him for ways and means to start the ball rolling. He talked workers' education at the Central Labor Board, at the General Mine Committee meetings, at his local. He gathered a small number of interested young men—mostly slate pickers from the breakers—about himself, and held tiny classes that met twice a week, giving their time to English and other casual topics in which they expressed interest. No attempt was made to cram indigestible material into their intellectual gullets.

From Harrisburg, State Department of Workers' Education, came John P. Troxell who visited small meetings, and with folded arms explained to eager ears the ideas behind this sudden insistence on the worker's intelligence.

"Why should we try to be educated?" wondered the workers. "We're only miners, and can't ever be anything else. What do we need this dope for?"

Some of the younger men listened, caught by an attractive angle of the proposition. When Troxell departed on further errands, Mick took the matter in hand, and succeeded in passing a resolution in his local supporting workers' education. The Central Labor Board likewise approved the suggestion, while neither of these resolutions provided any funds with which to nurse the infant movement in its first totterings.

A committee from the Central Board was appointed to seek permission of the School Board to use one of the public school rooms for the workers' class. The school board sat in stern judgment on the request, scenting red odors. As it was, a regular night school was in session for the benefit of sturdy men who sought naturalization. Why not send the students to this school? was asked. After some wrangling, the school board stiffly granted the class the use of a poor-lit room with cracked walls, and little heat.

Even this was not lightly to be turned aside. The Committee agreed to take over the room, promising to pay the light bill, and to refrain from tearing down the loose walls, or defacing children's books.

II.

The small class, numbering sixteen, met in the cold, cracked school room. Mick procured a few books, and offered to teach them elementary English, a study for which they voted. But the school board, through the school superintendent, checked Mick's ambitions as a teacher by demanding his certificate. Mick, having none, was compelled to cease his work, and to cast about for one officially more qualified than himself for the job.

A young high school professor, interested in adult education, undertook to conduct the class, as discussion leader. He was a loud, imperative chap who talked in big periods, and announced facts with exclamation points. He tried to jerk the class out of its apparent insomnia, into some lively discussive mood. He did this by rising to the platform, broadcasting huge platitudes scooped out of the evening paper, and standing there as a target for attack.

But the class shrunk into its shell. Nothing happened.

The technique was then changed, by converting this into a public speaking class. Evenings commenced with a few four or five minute talks from the floor by the students themselves. This was more successful, after the students wriggled out of their fearful attitudes, and felt that the floor would not drop from under their feet.

But on the whole, the key to success was not discovered. The class dwindled to painfully small numbers. Outside attractions were more powerful than the appeal of the class room in this cold, dampish chamber.

One day a school child complained of her book being scribbled up. The teacher, inspecting, saw crisscrosses, and pencilled ghouls leering out of the pages. The child said this had been done the previous evening by somebody. Inferentially, this "somebody" could be none other than the adult student who had occupied the seat the preceding evening.

This flagrant piece of evidence was next day dangled before the wide eyes of the superintendent who said a few unpleasant things, and ordered his clerk to make out a bill for damages to be presented to the class.

He paid his personal respects to the class next night, delivering himself of a severe monologue at the conclusion of which he departed in a huff leaving the class feeling disorganized and silly. Further threats followed together with the bill for damages. No one admitted responsibility for the damage. The scribbled pages of the pitiful book were fingered with humorous interest.

Other unpleasantries followed, such as the impatience of the janitor to close the building, etc., vexing the class until it cast about for other quarters, which were found

BILL SMITH IN BOSTON

The Adventure of the $5,000 Bond

BILL SMITH had made numerous trips to Boston. They all had to deal with the Shaughnessy Hosiery Company.

It was a troublesome institution. Mr. Menken, the manager, was ever overflowing with love and admiration for trade unionism. Yet, he would never sanction organization within the plant.

Often he would sit with Smith for hours and discuss the value of unionism to the workers. He also realized that in the new-grown condition of the full fashioned hosiery industry, unionism could be of benefit to that industry itself. The union contained all the efficient workers in the trade and non-unionism simply meant inefficiency.

It was with some surprise that Smith received word to come to Boston immediately. The workers had received word that discrimination against union men was to be introduced. Already one worker had been dismissed for "disloyalty".

Smith hastened to the friendly Menken. The gentleman was all effusion. There was some mistake. He knew that the majority of the workers were in the union. "You go and tell your members at the meeting tonight," he advised Smith, "that they need have no fears. Everything will be O. K. There will be no difficulties if they join the organization and retain membership in it."

So the meeting was informed. The workers could scarcely believe the glad tidings. 'Menken is such a liar," they volunteered, "we can't trust him."

Workers have a much better knowledge of their bosses than those gentlemen sometimes imagine. In this case, the workers were again correct. Scarcely was the meeting over when the two-faced Mr. Menken called each one into his presence. They were each informed that if they put up a $5,000 bond not to join the union, they could work. If not, their employment was discontinued.

They refused to consider the bond proposition, as well they might. The firm was attempting to improve on the "yellow dog" contract. It is a strange state of freedom indeed—right in Mr. Coolidge's state—when workers are required to put up bonds to guarantee that they will be "good and loyal."

The Shaughnessy firm thereupon declared a lockout. The tussle is now on. Anyone who remembers the stubborn battle the hosiery workers put up in Philadelphia several years ago, ending in 100 per cent workers' victory, will look for a complete upset for Menkenism in Boston. So Organizer Callaghan predicts.

When such is obtained, we suggest that a $5,000 bond be burned publicly in Boston Common. It would be a fitting act in the city where 1775 tea was destroyed.

in a basement beneath a large church. This basement was used by many locals for meetings. Large, damp, dim-lit, with lumpy shadows massed in every corner, and a great part of it dark, the small class met here after union meetings, to discuss things.

III.

The high school professor continued his weekly broadcastings, challenging the cool intelligence of his audience. The subjects were picked at random, ranging anywhere from a consideration of proposed cancer cures, to heredity whereby the young pedagogue had discovered the natal juices, and decide whether man is to dig ditches, lay bricks or manage oil wells.

The class stomached his vast declarations. No healthy note of opposition emerged from the class save when Mick himself would rise to challenge the professional wisdom. The class shrunk into its shell, and nothing happened except that the next census of the class showed shrinkage.

No ground work for workers' education was laid. No philosophy was applied. No goal was figured out. It wobbled on a catch-as-catch-can basis somersaulting through every chance garden of human knowledge, in no instance connected with any broad scheme or philosophy that would provide the basic pattern into which these pieces of knowledge would fit to make some sensible design.

The students left with a piece of acquired knowledge —a bleeding hunk of fact or theory—that whirled about in their bewildered heads, seeking a "belonging" place. But no such place was to be found, which left the students with a feeling that such knowledge, plastered on to them much as chewing gum is stuck on a bed post, becomes useless mental putty.

IV.

Then came the whirlwinds of campaign, as Brophy challenged the Lewis leadership in the U. M. W. A. Hot sparks flew from bituminous fields, dropping here. The students, now a handful paddling on scant resources, leapt into the political vat, and steamed opposition to the prevailing administration.

Things happened fast, and Lewis came on top with a landslide. Began then an era of retaliation, which dramatized the February convention, and continued within every local union where the administration suspected enemies. The class was suspected; the "goods" were gotten on Mick who, to escape inevitable prosecution, had to leave to other parts. The project crashed, and no one quivered a shoulder in wonder as to what happened. No one cared.

The classes were continued no longer, and peace reigned among the culm banks and the steep breakers of the anthracite!

Lillian and Sex Appeal

"Inferiority of Women" in the Unions

By FANNIA M. COHN

"I WENT to our local meeting the other day and an organizer spoke to us there."

"Who was it?" Bess asks, though not particularly interested.

"A Miss Gordon, sent by our international office."

"A woman, Edna?"

"Yes," says Edna, proudly, "a mighty good woman and an interesting one, too."

"Interesting?" Bess is skeptical. "What did she say that was so interesting?"

Edna is roused. "A great deal of good common sense. If I stood here telling you all about it, I'd be here all day. But one thing she did say impressed me particularly. She was talking about the activities of women in the trade union movement, and what she said made me wonder whether we were really doing the right thing in having a woman's branch in our local instead of working together with the men in the union."

"What do you mean?" Bess is curious now. "What did she say about our woman's branch?"

"Oh, nothing particular about our branch, just about women's branches in unions in general. I was wondering whether she was right about women's branches, or whether we're right. If she's right, though, we ought to give up our special branch."

"That's all bunk," Bess says firmly. "You know better than that. You know how hard it is for any of us girls to stand up in the union meeting where there are so many men who know a great deal more than we do, and still others who think they know more, even if they don't, and both kinds get the better of it in any argument with one of us. They get the last word, and so they hold the offices, make the rules and regulations, and do just as they please without consulting us at all. I'm talking from experience—you've seen it as well as I have, when we were with the men in our local before we got our special women's branch."

"You know," Edna replies, "I've always believed that, Bess, but I'll admit that I'm not so strong in my belief in the division of our union along sex lines as I used to be. Here's Lillian—let's ask her what she thinks of it. They have no special woman's branch in her local."

As Lillian comes up, Edna calls out: "Say, Lil, you should have been at our meeting last night and listened to the speaker we had there. You would have enjoyed hearing her."

"Yes?" asks Lillian. "What was she talking about?"

"About the place of the woman in the trade union movement," says Edna, "and she presented some very strong arguments against separate locals or branches of locals for women. She insisted that men and women should work together in the labor movement and that no artificial distinctions should be made between them."

"Well," says Lillian, "I'm certainly glad to know that at last a general organizer is intelligent enough squarely and frankly to say that. I've always insisted that it's necessary for men and women to work together in the labor movement, not just theoretically desirable. I think it's time for us to think about that problem with an open mind."

"That's exactly how I felt when our organizer discussed it," says Edna. "You know, Lil, I began to doubt the logic and wisdom of those who insist that because women, with only limited experience in the labor movement, feel inferior and feel men superior when they work together in an organization, the two sexes ought to be separated. I think these people overlook something very important—that separation is the surest way to keep this feeling of inferiority alive. It looks to me like just covering up a wound instead of trying to heal it."

"Well, I'm not so sure of that," says Bess belligerently. "Tell me, do you really feel that you have an equal chance with the men in your local, Lil?"

"That's no argument for a separate woman's local," Lillian answers. "Who'd deny that there is prejudice against women whenever they attempt to assert themselves? There's the same kind of prejudice in colleges, in universities, in political parties, and in the business world. So it's in the labor movement, too, and I'd be very foolish to deny it. But that prejudice isn't due to women's attempt to assert themselves, so much. It's due to the newness of women being out in the world at all."

"What's the difference?" Bess asks. "The result is the same. We always have to play second fiddle or none at all if we belong to the locals that have men in them. Isn't it better for us to be by ourselves and so be able to do some work?"

"I don't think so," answers Lillian. "I think that the prejudice that exists against women and the antagonism between men and women in the movement is due more to their lack of understanding of each other than to anything else. Do you really think that if we divide men and women into separate organizations as you have in your local union, the prejudice of men against women will be eliminated? You know I don't believe in special women's parties and women's organizations except where they're absolutely essential. It isn't essential in the labor movement. There men and women work in the mills, factories and shops side by side and are faced by the same problems. They should work together in solving these problems. Women in the trade union movement shouldn't shrink from men's experience, should realize that experience is acquired and that one sex can acquire it as well as another. We have to work, and not be afraid to make mistakes, in order to learn. Mistakes don't influence men so much as to make them constantly dread them and so paralyze them from activity.

"No, you can't make me stop believing that what we

need in the labor movement is a better understanding between men and women. And I think that that can come only as a result of their working together in the movement, of women's assuming responsibility as men do, and thus getting men to realize that women, too, have minds, that they, too, have contributions to make to the movement. And working together with men will make women appreciate men more reasonably for what they really are, and not for any imaginary characteristics. Such an understanding on the part of each will increase the possibility of cooperative effort."

"You have me almost on your side, Lil," Edna interrupts. "For months I've been thinking about our separate branch. I've thought, even, that it keeps us from getting as much pleasure out of the movement as we would otherwise get. I'm sure it would be more interesting if the problems were discussed by both of us—men and women. The different opinions expressed by men and women in the same problems surely throw more light on them and lead to a better understanding and a saner solution of them."

"Now look here," says Bess, "would you or any of us girls have a chance to express our opinions—to be elected to office or to serve on important committees, in a local where there are men? Don't the men get all the recognition?"

"There's a lot in that, Bess," says Lillian. "I've thought about it a great deal and I've decided that it isn't the fault of the men that we don't get that recognition—and I grant you that it's just as important for women to be inspired to work as it is for men. But the men alone aren't to blame for the failure of women to be elected to office—we ourselves are as much to blame."

"What makes you think so?" asks Bess.

"Two things," Lillian answers. "First, we have to make up our minds that we women will have to fight for our position in the labor movement. No one gives up his position to another person willingly. It's not a question of kindness, it's a question of power. So when it comes to running for office or to be a delegate at a convention we'll have to stop playing ladies, and being bashful about showing that we want to be elected, and admit that we are fit for the job and want it."

"What about the other girls?" Bess asks. "Will they elect a girl if they have a chance to elect a man? They never used to in our union."

"That's a hard nut to crack," Lillian admits. "Do you realize what that means, Bess? It means that there are a number of us women who haven't confidence in each other's ability. That's a problem, but we can understand how it came into being. We can find that defect in people who belong to oppressed groups—whether races or classes. It takes them time to overcome that feeling of inferiority. We should expect it to be present among women whose experience in social activity is limited because of their recent entrance into public affairs. It's left to you and me and all our fellow women who do realize this to enlighten our sisters in this labor movement. And we can achieve that best, if some of us who have been in the movement for a longer time and have accumulated some experience, will set before those other women an example in our accomplishments. We will also need to impress on more and more women how important it is for them to participate in the life of our organization.

"Participation in the activities of the union will give women the best possible training for working in social groups, trusting their affairs to their chosen representatives, and supporting able and devoted leaders. It seems to me that women can learn a great deal in that respect from men, who have worked for years in organizations."

"Do you mean we ought to learn political manoeuvering from men?" Bess asks, "and become mere cogs in their machines?"

"Not at all," Lillian answers. "I do expect women to realize that if they're to achieve anything of significance in the labor movement, just as in any other social movement, they'll have to work in groups and delegate their power to those of their number who carry out their collective wishes and defend their interests. They'll have to trust women with ability. But just because they work in groups won't necessarily mean that they're using political manoeuvres. Their motives must remain disinterested, and since in the last analysis the motive of an action determines its character, they'll be serving the same ends they have always wanted to serve, but more efficiently."

A SIGNIFICANT INSTITUTE

As we go to press, the first Women's Auxiliary Institute is meeting at Brookwood. Credit is due the Educational Department of the Ladies' Auxiliary, International Association of Machinists, for its enterprise in initiating this Institute.

Some of the subjects being discussed are:

The Worker's Wife as Purchasing Agent for the Home.
The Use of Electricity; The Fight for Public Regulation of Water Power.
Children and Young People in the Home.
How the Auxiliaries May Help the Unions.
Women Workers in Industry.
Women's Auxiliaries and Workers' Education.

It is encouraging to see workers' wives functioning through their auxiliaries, and we are confident that as more women throw their energy and enthusiasm, endurance and devotion to the Labor movement, its growth and power will be enhanced.

Labor Age is glad to have been of service, through the medium of Fannia M. Cohn's articles, in creating discussion concerning working women and workers' wives, their relation to the unions, and the necessity for the organization of women workers, and in focussing attention upon their problems.

HANDS AROUND THE WORLD

International Unionism Becomes Necessity

OUR queer old world is growing smaller. Not physically. At latest reports it still remained the eighth planet in our solar system. In every other way it is shrinking. The aeroplane, the radio and the other wonders of our age have made us all literally neighbors.

Economically we are being bound up closer than men of the past could ever dream of. The Chinese textile worker, receiving a few dollars a week and working 14 hours a day, affects the welfare of the New England operative. His revolt becomes our revolt. The British miner, beaten back to the pits, is not beaten alone. Every coal-digger throughout the world suffers with him. And the end is not yet.

Capital knows this well enough. Only last year the bankers of the world joined in a manifesto on economic conditions. Now, we have lately had the great meeting of International Capital at Geneva. Trusts—or cartels, as they are called in Europe—are being formed rapidly on international lines.

Commenting on this in the PHOTO-ENGRAVERS' JOURNAL for July, such a conservative unionist as Matthew Woll urges world-wide unionism for the working peoples. He says:

"The time is here when international labor forces should no longer be divided because of considerations relating solely to political theories and political governments. Now is the time for the workers everywhere to rally themselves internationally in the economic and industrial field, rid their labor movements of the political follies of the past and unite in improving the working conditions of the wage earners the world over.

"Let the workers of the world form a World Trade Union Cartel."

It has been unfortunate that in the past the American Labor Movement, as a whole, has been aloof from the workers' unions of most other countries. A number of individual internationals have affiliated themselves to their respective groups in the International Federation of Trade Unions. The Metal Trades Council of the A. F. of L. followed their action *en masse* at the Detroit convention. American Labor has made alliances with the movements in South American countries. The difference in political policies between the Mexican unions and the A. F. of L. was no bar to cooperation.

Hands around the world would make for a mighty force for emancipation. It would stand face to face against the cartels of the employing class. It would quicken the progress of the union movements everywhere. If it preserve the great ideals which have urged forward the workers' movements—industrially, politically and cooperatively, —it will lead to the great show-down of the future: as to who shall control the world. If one movement be more backward in this development or that than the other, the joint experience of all would aid the lagging movement forward on the path to full expression and power.

TOWARD DECENCY

Canada and Others Protect the Aged

WHAT the people need in every State is an excursion to the almshouses, where the aged poor are herded. Were the workers to see, en masse, the dumping grounds for the worn-out members of their class, action would soon be forthcoming. Or something would pop. The public authorities have felt something of this indecency, even through their thick skns. They have tried to remedy it by calling the poor farms by a lovelier name. But an almshouse by any name reeks as foully as before.

Canada has taken the real step toward decency. This March saw the passage of a national old age pensions act. It is a decided victory for President Tom Moore and the Canadian Trades and Labor Council—even though the measure is still not all Labor desires.

Under its provisions a maximum pension of $20 per month is to be paid to British subjects who have attained the age of 70 years. The pensioners must have lived in Canada for 20 years, and must have resided in the province in which they make application for the last five years. The pension is subject to reduction if the total maximum income of the pensioner should measure up to more than $365 per year.

The act is effective only when accepted by the various provinces. That is necessary under its provisions, as the provinces are to pay half the pension and the dominion half. British Columbia has already anticipated this action by the dominion parliament. The pension will go into effect there immediately.

Old age pensions have been won in Canada because of popular demand. It was the outstanding issue in the national election of last year. Prior to that time the idea had been defeated in the Senate. With the people's vote for it, the Senate was now obliged to yield. Thus encouraged, Labor will push forward amendments in the future which will lower the age limit, raise the amount of the pension, and ease up the residence qualifications.

Two further States—Colorado and Maryland—came into the old age pension fold recently. Six States and one territory, therefore, have now decided to care for their aged in their own homes. These are: Colorado, Maryland, Montana, Nevada, Wisconsin, Kentucky, and Alaska. In three other States—Indiana, Massachusetts, and Virginia—state commissions have reported in favor of such action. In four more—Arkansas, Iowa, California and New York—the legislature has just created investigating commissions to look into the advisability of pensions. The Mellon-Fisher-Grundy machine in Pennsylvania has again prevented the idea being presented to the people there. But in Wyoming, although the Governor vetoed the bill the last session, he is pledged to sign one in a slightly different form the next time.

Here is a good work ahead for union men and women. Two birds are killed with one stone in this form of legislation: The aged workers are provided for, and the employers' pension schemes are rendered harmless against unionism.

Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:
To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

MUCH BETTER, THANK YOU!

That's How We Feel at This Month's News

HORATIUS at the bridge did not have time to frame an alibi. He had to fight it out, and achieve his objective. If he hadn't, he would have been crushed out of life and history's page.

We in the Labor Movement are very much in Horatius' shoes. Cheeringly, some of us understand that thoroughly. This last month's mail bag brings news to that effect, that is good news.

On June 18th a conference was held in the city of Portland, Ore., which deserves a little limelight. It was the semi-annual meeting of the Northwest Conference of Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Unions. General Organizer Geo. W. Lish could report there: "The growth of membership in the Northwest district, I believe, has been greater for our union than has been experienced by any other building craft and probably greater than that of any craft in any section of union labor." He could also say: "Establishment of conditions in the smaller and recently organized towns has also shown good progress."

In detail he told of progress made in Montana, British Columbia, Washington and other places. Such are the direct results of alertness and intelligence on the organization job. In his conclusion, he recommends something which all of us might call to mind time and time again:

"I desire to recommend briefly the tactics which my observation tells me will be most productive for the organization. First, I am convinced that exchange of ideas and reports on conditions and results obtained by a particular activity or strategy will be of untold benefit. To a degree this may be done through the columns of the NORTHWEST LABORER (The Conference organ) but, of course, there are times when it will be advisable to do so through correspondence."

Other recommendations which he makes pertain too closely to his particular trade, to be of general value. But this first suggestion is enough. It means that the members of the conference will stimulate each other to intelligent and resultful action, by exchanging experiences regularly. It means that DOING things will count, not alibis. It means that an intelligent campaign can always be in progress, out of new tactics learned from new achievements. Other unions might practice this, with valuable results. A clearing house for the exchange of ideas and news of success is a much-needed thing, everywhere. Chambers of Commerce and Open Shoppers do it; why not we?

Another bit of that intellectual food which we would like to have for a daily diet comes from the Taxi and Public Service Workers of Greater New York. During this past month of July a letter went out to taxi and other workers in the big city. It said in part: "Dear Sirs and Brothers: For the first time in the history of our trade a number of us are able to address you with the greeting, BROTHERS! A group of us, especially among the Taxi Workers, have for over a year now been meeting together for the purpose of building a union in our trade. There are at least 140,000 of us, underpaid, unorganized, persecuted workers in the Taxi, the Traction, the Light and Power, the basic industries generally, in Greater New York, from whom the advantages and inspiration of BROTHERHOOD—Unionism, are shut out! . . . Our program is to Build the Basis for a Union, Interest the Labor Movement in our cause, and Seek Admission into the American Federation of Labor."

While these brothers will probably find that their field is a bit too far-reaching, it is good to see that they have begun to stir up the taxi drivers. It is good to see that they intend to bring all their fellows within the fold of the A. F. of L. It is refreshing to note that there is to be some action in the matter.

The murmuring of the unorganized, which can be heard in every mill and factory today, can be swelled into a shout of thunder. Work will do it. Hard, incessant, inspired work. Let us get at it. The hour of coming near-depression is our hour of opportunity.

AGAINST YELLOW DOGGERY

NEVER say die—and the chances are you will live. Yellow dog contracts aim at the very life of the Labor Movement. By tying up the individual worker in a contract, they make the union which attempts to secure his membership liable at law for severe damages.

Ohio laborites are not satisfied with that sort of deal. They have begun a legislative campaign to make the individual contract against public policy. Therefore, it will be null and void.

Such legislation passed the Ohio Senate by a vote of 29 to 3 in 1926. It was lost in the House, after a bitter fight, only because it failed to get a two-thirds vote for consideration at the last minute of the session. A majority of the House were for it.

That is decided progress, since its failure even to get out of committee in the previous legislative session. The Ohio Federation of Labor can look forward with much reason to success in the next attempt. Whether the courts, in their supreme wisdom, will declare the law valid remains to be seen. The Attorney General of the State has stated that it is sound.

California, Massachusetts and Illinois followed Ohio's lead. In California the bill passed the Assembly by a vote of 43 to 36. It failed by two votes in the Senate.

Yellow doggery must be killed. If legislation will not do it, defiance must. But legislation has this initial advantage: It centers attention on the evil and opens the way for defiance, if that proves necessary. Unionism cannot say "die" before a mere arbitrary and unjust "contract."

CHILDREN!

RECENTLY a distinguished gentleman wrote, privately: "The workers are still half-savage, and half-children."

That is evidently the opinion held of them by the management of the Pepperell Mills in Biddeford, Maine, and other centers.

A worker at the Pepperell, with many requests not to divulge his name, has sent us a number of copies of the PEPPERELL SHEET. It is the organ for the employees of those Mills, under the guidance of Mr. Leonard.

These workers, be it remembered, get 25 per cent less wages than the unionized men and women at the Naumkeag at Salem, Mass. They have intensely worse conditions. Fear is uppermost in their minds.

The management is busily engaged in keeping them on edge about "social life" and athletics. We read in the November, 1926, issue: "An extensive program for the winter, for all employees of the Mill, has been planned, such as Club Meetings, Card Parties, Minstrels, Boxing, Snow Show Parties, Wrestling and a Bowling League. Possibly Basket Ball."

Photographs of the employees are a feature. The December issue says: "The Sheet wants snaps and photos of Pepperell folks and members of families." Nice little sayings are put beneath the photos when they appear, relating to the beautiful smiles or the beautiful looks of the ladies, the huskiness of the males, etc. The Spirit of Christmas and its meaning to the "American home" is played up heavily.

We forbear from mentioning more. This sobstuff is the return the Biddeforders get for the 25 per cent wage cut they enjoy. Some of these days they may pause to think: "Why cannot we have all these things under our own auspices? Why not get decent wages and athletics, too?"

The New York-New Jersey Hosiery Workers have answered that, under the leadership of Carl Holderman. They have union athletics—and get union wages to boot. Workers who have grown up mentally will not look to the boss for hand-outs. They will TAKE what they want when they want it—under their own united control.

SILK HOSE AND PECKSNIFFERY

PECKSNIFF, the hypocrite, has stepped right out of the pages of MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT. He appears in our midst as a personnel psalm singer of "high wages." Like the parasites of the insect world, he has multiplied himself a thousand fold, almost over-night.

High wages! We are nauseated at the very words. Wherever we turn, we hear of them—and wherever we look, we fail to find them. Silk hose furnish a case in point. They are in wide demand today—and they bring high enough prices. The United States Department of Labor informs us, however, that in 1926 the average wage in American hosiery and underwear mills was $22.67 a week. The average in the hosiery industry alone was $24.50; that in underwear, $10.91.

In hosiery, the range of earnings is very wide. Female inspectors, at the bottom of the scale, get an average of $15.36 a week. At the other end, knitters and footers of full fashioned hosiery average $77.06 per week. But of the 45,000 workers covered, only 696 were in this coveted class. No doubt some foreign delegation will appear upon the scene and proclaim the high rate of the full fashioned knitters as the wages of the hosiery industry! We have seen the LONDON DAILY MAIL outfit do something similar in regard to speeding up and piece rates.

When an impartial historian sits down to write the account of America, in this after-war period, he will be safe in calling it: The Golden Age of Pecksniffery.

NO PAY!

IN a land bursting with plenty, men and women are still defrauded of their wages.

We read in the U. S. MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW of June, 1927:

"There is in the United States a widespread exploitation of labor through failure to pay wages. Thus in 1926, in 16 States for which complete reports were made, wage claims settled only after the intervention of State labor officials numbered 23,400, and represented in the aggregate a collection of $1,216,000. Some of these undoubtedly arose through misunderstanding on the part of the employees, but many were cases of intentional fraud. Moreover, there are unquestionably many legitimate wage claims which are never pressed."

This is a sorry showing. Naturally, among unorganized workers there is fear to press these claims. Blacklisting or other employers' devices of that sort make them pause before taking action. In addition to those collections made by the State officers and those never col-

lected, unionism forces many collections which are never recorded. There is, even in organized industries, the old skin game of attempting to pay a hard-pressed worker a union wage, with the understanding that he shall give part of it back to the employer. His envelope shows he has been paid at the standard rate, but in reality he is paid much lower. Union officials have to be on the lookout, always, for these cheap tricks.

The REVIEW adds:

"Although the amount of the average wage claims, about $50, may seem small, the records of hardship and destitution following the workers' failure to collect their earnings include such tragedies as dispossession of lodgings, recourse to charity organizations, and even death from exposure and suicide."

Ponder over that, my friends! Of what stuff is this our "Prosperity" made, that the mere non-payment of $50 should drive a worker to take his life. What constant tension of terrorized living is represented in that phrase!

In only a few States—notably California, Massachusetts, Nevada and Utah—are there adequate laws, giving real power to the State labor offices for these collections. We must set out to put punch into the laws of the rest of the States. LABOR AGE stands ready to cooperate in such a campaign. We must wipe out the smug and cheap employer who exploits the sweat and energy of workers and then says: "No pay!"

WALL STREET'S SOCIAL WORK

"Obedience" Training for Unsuspecting Youths

OUR great temple of Gambling—the New York Stock Exchange—exploits more young men than almost any other industry. That is, in proportion to its total employees.

Its Personnel Report for 1925-1926, just issued, proudly says: "The Stock Exchange has more 'teen' boys in its employ than any other financial institution." "Teen" boys are so much more readily used and abused in the way of salaries than grown men would be.

The methods of keeping the boys in tow are, therefore, quite elaborate. The report of 54 pages tells all about it. Discreetly, it omits the low remuneration given these young hopefuls. But it tells much of the group insurance, medical service, sick leaves, loan funds and other social service features that it provides for them. And there is also—Athletics. The Stock Exchange is strong for athletics.

"It has been felt," says the report, "that a definitely established athletic policy is an essential part of the work of the Personnel Office in keeping the employee happy on his job. Throughout the many lines of athletic endeavor which have been entered upon, at no time has there been anything but the keenest interest on the part of management in the matter of the conduct of these various sports."

Athletics are a splendid means of distracting attention from pay envelopes. Then there is education. That is a big factor. Close touch is kept with the school authorities to nip their budding youths. The records of the high school students are closely gone into before being hired. Their marks are gone over, and their "obedience" is noted. That is also quite an item in being "happy on the job"—Obedience. Of the education of these young men (or rather, boys), Mr. Cameron Beck, Personnel Director of the Stock Exchange, orates as follows:

"During the last eight years over $6,000 has been loaned to the youth in our employ for the cause of education and not a dollar of it has been lost. Someone has said that youth is brought up in ignorance and expected to solve the nation's problems. No such charge can be made against the management of the New York Stock Exchange, which, in the words of President Simmons, regards the employment of the youth of today as a 'sacred and patriotic trust.' This educational policy of the New York Stock Exchange has already had a marked influence throughout the land."

The Exchange has cashed in well on its educational program. "Not a dollar has been lost." That is the fruit of education to Obedience. We recommend the value of education to Revolt. Not only for White Collary. But also for the youthful workers in every industry. Union education can also have a "marked influence throughout the land"—not for the complacence, but for the discomfort of the Gamblers.

LESS MEN—MORE OUTPUT

A Glance at the New Unemployment

OUR hats are off to the Philadelphia Labor College. Another one of its fruitful conferences marked the latter part of July. Its subject: "Unemployment."

"Unemployment", you may exclaim, in the midst of "Prosperity"! It is unthinkable. Well, the League for Industrial Democracy had another think coming, to break into the vernacular. It decided, at its meeting in June, that no such thing as "Prosperity" exists. That is rather a hard blow to bear up under.

There is one phase of "Prosperity" and unemployment which is increasingly challenging our attention. It is the killing of factory jobs through machinery and the speed-up. The United States Department of Labor in its July REVIEW has informed us that output keeps going ahead, but jobs are getting less and less. Since 1923, there has been a falling off of 11 per cent in the number of men employed in the manufacturing industries. We have noted before the statement of the president of the Bethlehem Steel Company (in the SATURDAY EVENING POST) that his force has fallen since 1923, but that production has increased.

Further fuel is added to the flames by the Vice-President of the Buick Motor Company in the July issue of THE MAGAZINE OF BUSINESS. He acquaints his colleagues and competitors how that company has made "1400 per cent more cars with 10 per cent more men." He thinks this "rather remarkable"—as indeed it is. "Putting the stuff through faster" is the answer. Machinery and the speed-up tell the tale, in large part.

These new developments must be met by labor. They cannot be met only negatively but also must be met constructively. We suggest a labor conference on "How to Meet the Speed-up System and the Machine Age." It should be fruitful of suggestions for progress.

In Other Lands

UNCLE SAM'S IMPERIALISM

The New Rome and the Hatching of New Wars

OUT of the age-long clashing of nations and the rush for fertile feeding places, a new giant Imperialism has arisen in the world. It is named: the United States of America. Throughout an area mightily greater than that which Rome ruled, the word "America" means "master".

Berlin's conservative Socialist paper, the VORWARTS, asks the question: "Is Europe an American colony?" Its answer is: "At present, yes." But it opines that this is not a permanent state. American money, which is flowing into Europe, will flow back again. It is in South America that the United States will take up the steady job of economic colonization. Chile's copper mines are now American, belonging to the Guggenheims. So it is with other large ventures. Latin America is quietly becoming a province of the United States.

Just the same, Europe is not wasting any love over the U. S. A. Its economic obligations to America have been salt in its war wounds. Much has been made of our "ambassadors of peace", the airmen. Europe, on reflection, can look upon them as "ambassadors of future war", as well. The heated imperialism of such publications as the SATURDAY EVENING POST is breeding a spirit in this country, also, that makes for anything but peace. The reactionary NEW YORK EVENING POST, for example, hails the Filipino's oppressor, General Wood, as "our noble proconsul."

Our Imperialism may not be of the exact brand of the Roman proconsuls, as the London ECONOMIST diplomatically remarks. But it is close akin. When President Coolidge in April pledged this country to be "the policeman" of Latin America, he went pretty far in that direction.

What is the result? All of that section, from Mexico to the Argentine, has become suspicious of us. When the Pan-American Congress meets in Havana in 1928, it will not be the peaceful assemblage of years gone by The Yankee wil. have definitely grown into a powerful enemy, instead of a powerful defender. A Latin-American alliance against Yankee domination is a more than likely development.

Acting as constable to more than a dozen nations has its difficulties. It may lead to untold wars in time. Central America and Mexico may become an-another Balkans. Where is the hope of peace? Only in the workers of the world. In this situation, our American unions should hasten the forging of closer bonds with these of Latin America. Further than that, we should weld the links tighter that bind us in part now to the workers of Europe. Unitedly, we can all oppose the Guggenheims and Morgans and the other interests which thrive off imperialist expansion and its offspring, War..

THE CHELTENHAM DECISION

In the midst of the attack from the Tories, the British Labor Party has received new encouragement from another source. This is the Cooperative Movement.

At the Cheltenham national cooperative congress, in June, it was agreed that the Cooperative Party and the Labor Party should become fused, in as far as is possible. This has created a great amount of chatter in the capitalist press of the country. As the COOPERATIVE NEWS of June 18th states: "Those newspapers which serve the purposes of political party hacks, and those which represent the vested interests with which cooperators find themselves constantly in conflict, have devoted more space to the cooperative movement during the past ten days than they have done after any Cooperative Congress."

The tenor of these articles has been to the effect that the Cooperative Movement has been captured by the Labor Party. Some local cooperative societies, excited by these insinuations, have even threatened to withdraw from the general cooperative movement. To understand the situation, it must be realized that the cooperative idea is a non-political one essentially. During the past ten years, however, a cooperative political movement has grown up in Britain—to defend the cooperatives from legislation by the vested interests. The cooperative members of parliament have always worked hand in hand with the Labor Party and have been counted as members of that Party in parliamentary polls. A loose agreement has prevented Cooperative and Labor representatives from contesting the same parliamentary seat.

In order to entrench itself, the cooperative political group made the overtures to Labor, which have brought about the present agreement. Labor welcomed it, but it was the cooperators who sought it. Under this new proposal, cooperative political groups shall not only be free to affiliate with the Labor Party—as do the Independent Labor Party and other groups—but the Labor Party itself shall be bound to accept local cooperative political councils as definite divisions of the Labor Party.

The agreement is, therefore, to the advantage of the cooperators, as long as they go in for political action at all. They have never received any aid or comfort from Liberal or Tory parties. They are one of the three wings of the Labor Movement. The question at issue is really whether cooperators as such should be in politics at all, rather than whether they should be in the Labor Party. The agreement leaves this entirely to the decision of the local cooperative societies.

The net result also helps Labor. It gives that party a more solid phalanx in parliament and thruout the country. The evolution is a natural one, which should be watched with much interest from this side of the water.

BLACK FREEDOM

Out of Africa comes good news. We hasten to spread it.

In May we reported the difficulties put in the way of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa. Embracing all black workers in South Africa—including Indians there—this union's progress has aroused the hatred of the government. The movements of its secretary and leader, Clement Kadalie, were restricted by government edict. The ban was fought in the law courts, and the South African Supreme Court decided for the union. (Wonder of wonders.)

This did not satisfy the government. It immediately introduced a law, known as the Sedition Bill, which would have destroyed the work of the I. C. U. That body joined the International Federation of Trade Unions and sought its aid. Such aid was forthcoming. The I. F. T. U. not only protested to the government, but also secured the active cooperation of the South African Labor Party and the white South African Trade Union Congress, in the fight. This was the first time that the latter body had come to the help of the blacks' organization. Confronted with such unexpected opposition—for the Labor Party has been pretty close to the South African Government—that government had no choice but to withdraw the sedition bill. This is a magnificent first step toward workers' freedom in South Africa. It has been followed up by a move on the part of the local Trades Union Congress seeking closer cooperaion with the I. C. U. The present report from that far-away region is, therefore, one of Progress.

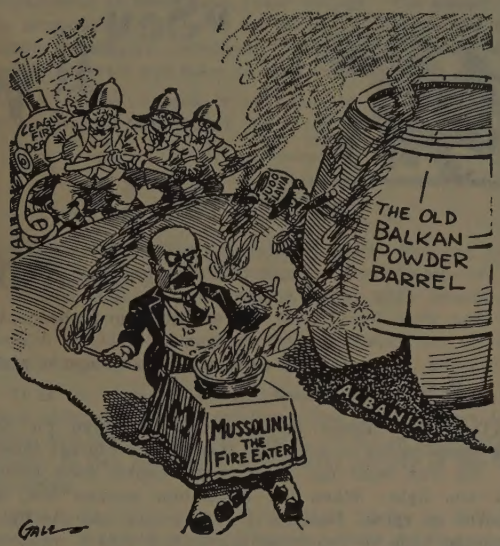
FROM THE GANGES TO THE JORDAN

On the banks of two holy rivers, the workers have began to give up weeping and have begun to think of action.

Amid great difficulties, Indian trade unionism is feeling its way. On March 12th, the Seventh All-Indian Congress of Trade Unions was held in Delhi. It revealed that while the union movement is still weak in Hindustan, it has great hopes for the future. The total of the organized workers in that vast land comes to but 250,000. Millions of unorganized, particularly in agriculture, are the concern of the Indian union leaders. It is toward them that they are now turning, in the hope of raising standards and winning these masses to organization. Demands made at the congress included: the 8-hour day, minimum wage legislation, the prohibition of woman labor in mines, weekly payment of wages, pensions for the aged and for widows and orphans of workers, and government sickness and unemployment insurance. The congress pledged itself to fight "British Imperialism" and objected strenuously to the use of Indian troops in China.. So, there was a fine spirit of revolt in the gatherings.

The name "Palestine" does not suggest union action any more than does India. And yet, we learn from the I. F. T. U. that there are 23,000 Arabs alone organized in the trade union center there. This, in face of the fact that industry is in a very crude stage of development in the Holy Land. The Arab fellaheens are mostly small farm tenants. Where they enter industry, they are sometimes only part workers, drifting from place to place. This increases the difficulty of organization. Fifty per cent of the railwaymen's union are Arabs, however. Last year, with the help of the Jewish workers, the Arab tailors and carpenters were victorious in their strike—working hours being cut from 14 to 9 per day.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS PICTURE



SCANDINAVIAN "STABILIZATION"

Our brothers in Norway are now facing the same situation as the trade unionists of Britain. Their magnificent stand for decent conditions, as manifested in their recent strikes, has led the reactionary government to introduce anti-strike legislation.

This measure—a possibility last month—is now in full force and effect. It provides for a council of five, who shall pass on all wages and working conditions. If the unions object to the decision and seek to strike, the strike is illegal. Anyone participating in it or counseling it shall be subject to fine and imprisonment. Unions must register the names of their members with the government and also the circumstances connected with their becoming members. Libelling a strike-breaker at any time is a penal offense, and publishing the names of strike-breakers is cause for imprisonment. It can be said in advance that the Norwegian workers will fight this legislation to the finish.

Their sister country—Denmark—is showing symptoms of similar tendencies. The Social Democratic Government of Stauning having been done away with, a new onslaught on the workers has been commenced. Social legislation is to be whittled down. Unemployment insurance is to be reduced by millions of dollars a year. The Danish workers, just emerging from a long and acute period of out-of-work, are in a restive mood as a result of this new attack upon them.

The Communists call for a general strike, but the Socialists point to the possibility of capturing the government in 1928. "Stabilization" is not a sweet word for the Scandinavian working class. It has meant the same for them as for all the other European workers.

"Say It With Books"

A GREAT AMERICAN REBEL

Thomas Paine: Prophet of Democracy

"I bring reason to your ears, and in language as plain as A. B. C."

SO wrote Thomas Paine, as he thundered for the emancipation of America. When men's courage failed, his own went up. When men's hearts were heavy, his was light. When the Revolution seemed lost, he revived its spirit. Perhaps to Paine's clear-cut and lightning-like calls to rebellion, the United States owes its independence more than to any other cause.

Washington's army might be beaten back. It might have to go into hiding. Paine continued cheering for the victory that was to come. He defended the Commander-in-Chief from attacks in the Congress. He laughed at the heavy and undiplomatic "propaganda" of the British Tories. He stirred up the colonists to continue in the fight.

Here was a man to whom the whole world was his country. He sped to revolutions, "like a boy running to a fire." His inventive genius has been applauded by none other than Thomas Edison. But he had little time for that. The rights of man were too urgent. The tyranny of kings and nobles was too pressing. Scarcely was the American Revolution accomplished, than he must go abroad to arouse his fellow-countrymen, the British. While his trial for sedition was still pending there, the French Revolution beckoned him, and he threw his energies into that immense event.

But he was not a man of violence. When the extremists in the French upheaval voted for the beheading of the King, Paine pleaded for his life. It was a courageous thing to do. It brought him to disfavor and to prison. Robespierre sneeringly dubbed him "a Quaker".

Mary Agnes Best has charmingly brought the "Propaganda General of the American Revolution" back into something of his own. Much of the popular disesteem into which he has sank was due to his AGE OF REASON, an attack upon organized religion and the Bible. To this must be added the intrigues of Gouvernor Morris, the American Tory and philandering Minister to France during the French Revolution. Morris, devoted to aristocracy and aristocratic "pleasures", defamed Paine's name and motives. He used his utmost efforts to keep the fire-brand of our Revolution in prison in the Luxembourg. It was only when James Monroe became Minister to France, that Paine was released—the victim of prison-produced paralysis, abscesses and carbuncles.

Miss Best has portrayed Paine's part in America's early struggle in a happy way. Her THOMAS PAINE: PROPHET AND MARTYR OF DEMOCRACY (Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y.) is attractively written. When once taken up, it is difficult to put down, as every page invites further reading. She has gone far in her effort to replace the laurel wreath on Paine's head, where it should ever have been in our memories. He was the first to call these the "United States of America." His appeals stirred not only the Americans, but also the French and English masses. Many of the reforms for which he fought in England have long ago been accepted there. Like Thomas Jefferson, his friend, he was an enemy of Negro slavery and foresaw its doom.

His COMMON SENSE aroused America; his RIGHTS OF MAN rang through Britain and France. His inventive genius pushed on Fulton to produce the steamboat. And yet, he died despised and rejected. His fate, as Miss Best states, "was ironical." In his fading years, he was even denied the right of American citizenship, through the influence of Gouvernor Morris. Getting much of his inspiration from the Quakers, he was refused Quaker burial. Roosevelt remembered him as "a dirty little atheist." His biographer remarks that he was neither little, dirty nor an atheist.

Whatever may be thought of his metaphysical views, his place as a prophet and martyr of Democracy is becoming increasingly recognized. His words still ring out, giving hope and inspiration to other rebels. Rightly he cries out down the years, to us and those who follow us: "An army of principles will penetrate where an army of soldiers cannot. It will succeed where diplomatic management will fail. . . . It will march on the horizon of the world, and it will conquer."

THE WORKER LOOKS AT GOVERNMENT

By THOMAS L. DABNEY

IN HIS remarkably penetrating new book, Dr. Arthur W. Calhoun, instructor at Brookwood Labor College, has performed a service which in 1924 he stated was "a chief need in the field of politics today." The JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES for May, 1924, which carried Dr. Calhoun's article on Functional Democracy, contained the following significant opening sentence:

"A chief need in the field of politics today is the disclosure of social realities behind political forms and appearances, so that thought and practice in respect to government may be emancipated from bondage to verbalism, institutionalism, and subterfuge, and focused candidly and sincerely for the attainment of honest ideals."

Few authors have approached the study of government in the truly scientific manner. Books by so-called political scientists abound in sentimental and metaphysical interpretations of government. The state is usually represented as an institution of the common good. The upshot of the whole trend of thought in regard to politics has been such that government has acquired a position of immunity and sacredness surpassed only by the church. Thus the collective American mind has come to regard government almost as a holy institution beyond the ordinary influences of mundane forces.

Dr. Calhoun's task in THE WORKER LOOKS AT GOVERNMENT is to free the American mind of such a superficial view of government. In tackling this problem the author has been not only logical in his treatment, but unusually objective. His point of view is essentially that of a Marxian scholar. In a straight-forward fashion the author tears down the veil of superstition woven around the sacred precincts of government by the fathers of the republic and their present political mimics, and gives the reader a clear view of government with all its partiality, greed and selfishness.

The book, as the author states in the preface, "is an attempt to provide a suggestive treatment of such aspects of American government as are of most significance for the workers." Besides serving in this capacity, this book is particularly adapted to classroom use in workers' education. Here the student will find a clear, detailed and painstaking analysis of the nature and function of the American government with reference to labor. It is the first of a series of books to be published under the social science department of Brookwood Labor College. The author has in preparation two books on Social Psychology and Economic Psychology respectively, which, no doubt, will be of special interest and value to workers' education.

(Dr. Calhoun's book is published by the International Publishers, of New York.)

RED DAMASK

SEXUAL difficulties of wealthy women—with too much time, riches and restrictions on their hands—are becoming just a bit tiresome. They have formed the *motif* for too many novels. Good, hard work and less wealth would solve most of their problems, put forward in so much detail.

It is the virtue of Emanie Sachs' RED DAMASK that it does indicate this very solution. The crime against Abby Hahl was the crime of her family. It lay in crushing her desire to live her own life in useful activity of her own choosing.

The hollow philosophy of the Hahl family is well portrayed. If it will go any distance toward shaking up the complacency of the rich of that class, it will have performed a real service. We fear that the remedy lies far deeper than the power of any surface novel.

(RED DAMASK is published by Harper and Brothers, New York.)

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Here are more names for the Honor Roll:

WILLIAM J. GRIFFITHS, Middletown, Ohio
(Steel Worker, who boosts LABOR AGE wherever he goes, and who has obtained a number of subscriptions.)

ISRAEL MUFSON, Philadelphia, Pa.
(Secretary, Phila. Labor College, who has secured interest in LABOR AGE among students and those attending the summer Labor conferences in Philadelphia.)

HENRY S. BARTH, Philadelphia, Pa.
(Upholstery Weavers, No. 25, who has interested fellow-workers and secured subscriptions.)

BERT JONES, Scranton, Pa.
(International Moulders' Union, No. 34, who has disposed of a good-sized bundle of LABOR AGE among active members.)

HARRY WENDRICH, Newark, N. J.
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